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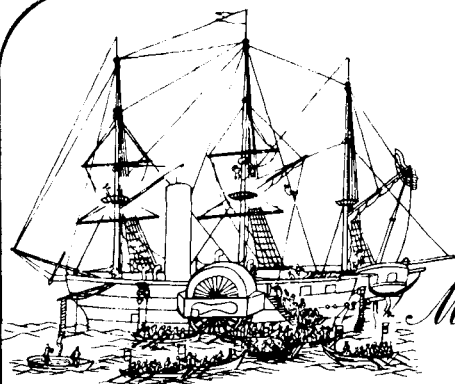
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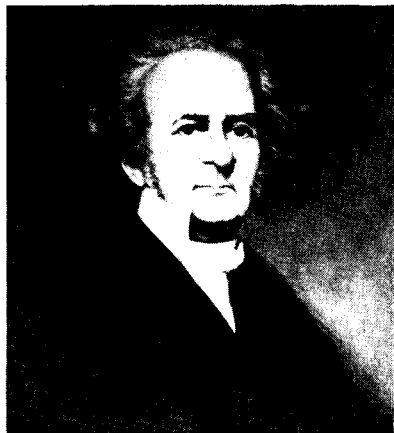
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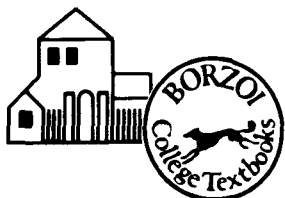
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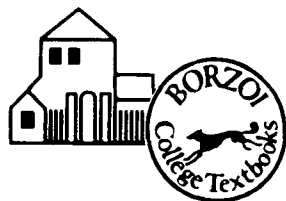
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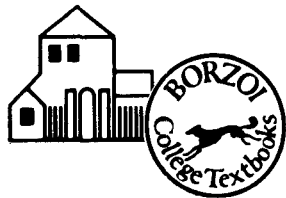
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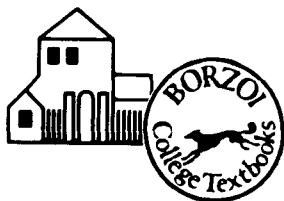
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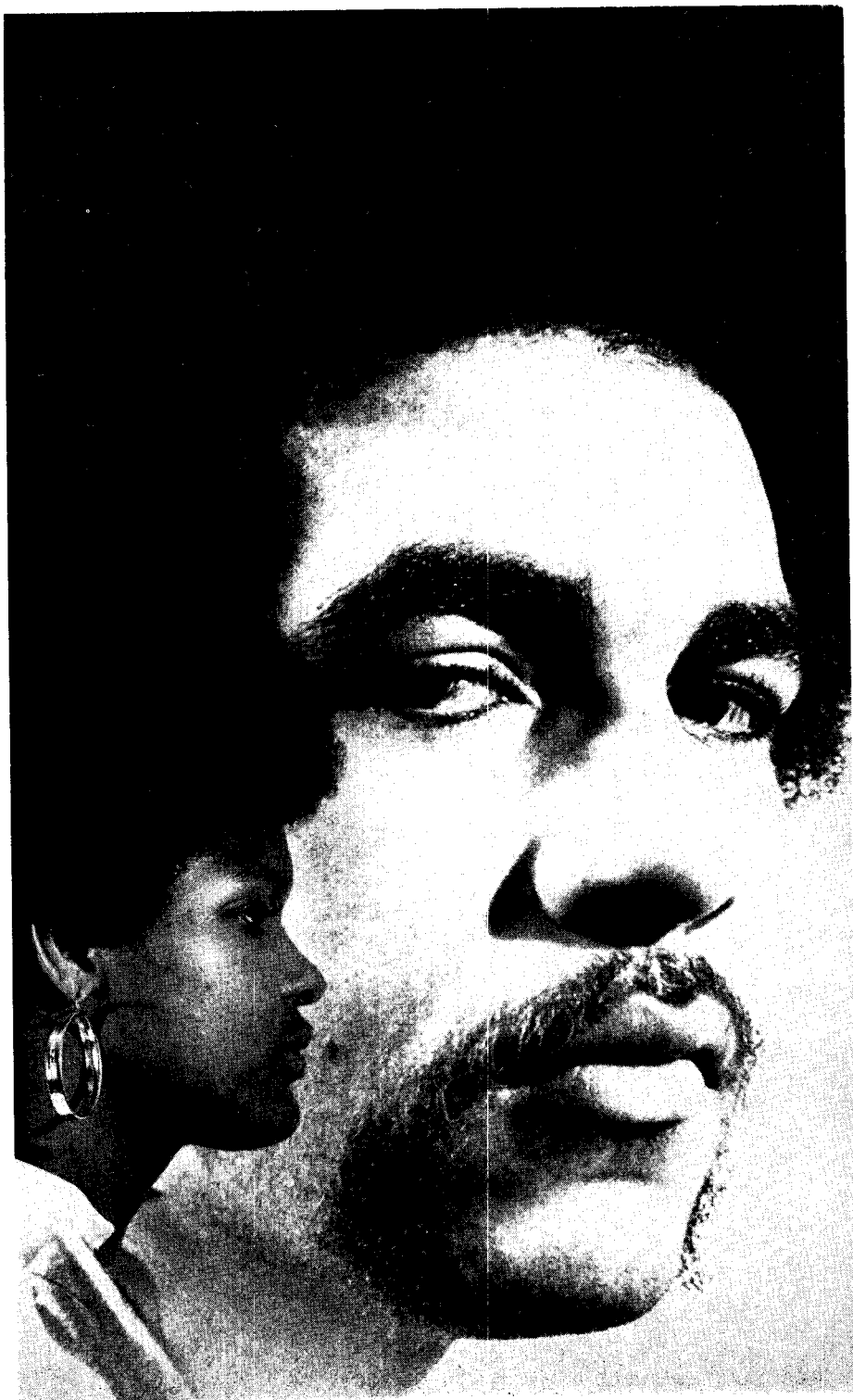
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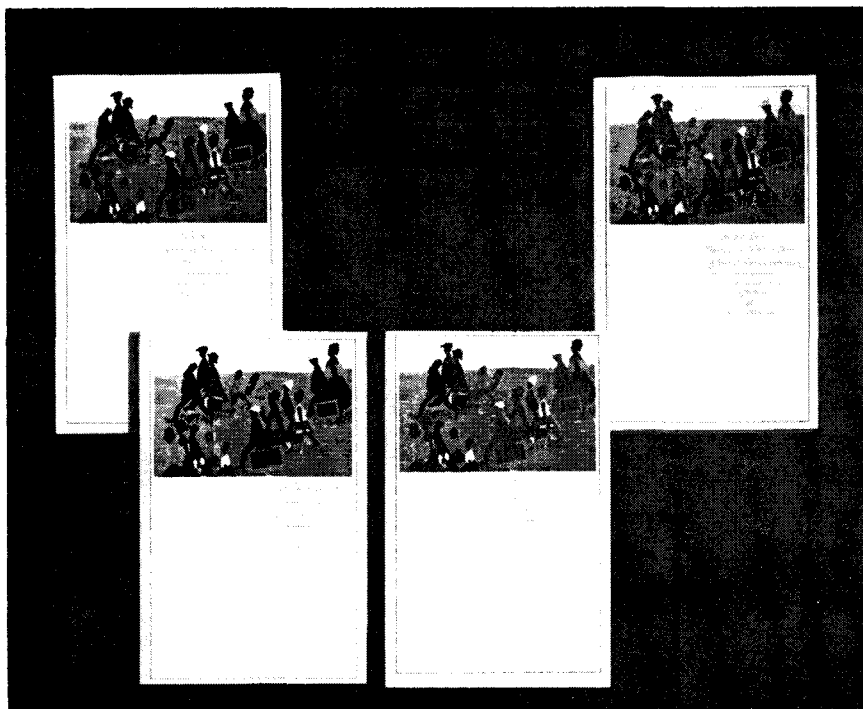
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The Loess and the Origin of Chinese Agriculture

PING-TI HO

FEW problems in human history are more fundamental and challenging than the origins of agriculture. It was cereal agriculture, probably more than anything else, that gave rise to the first civilizations in both the Old and New World.¹ The origins of agriculture in Mesopotamia and Meso-America have been intensively studied by archaeologists and scientists of many disciplines, for all except a handful of extreme diffusionists have conceded that these areas were the two independent nuclei from which agriculture and early civilizations developed and spread throughout the hemispheres. Because of the multifarious data concerning the origin of Chinese agriculture, however, there is reason to believe that, in so far as theories of the genesis of culture are concerned, China may well hold as crucial a position as do Mesopotamia and Meso-America.

An examination of the massive new archaeological and many-sided scientific findings regarding the nuclear area of Neolithic China and an integration of them with the rich store of ancient Chinese written records reveal that the natural en-

►Ping-ti Ho, member of Academia Sinica and James Westfall Thompson Professor of History at the University of Chicago, is the author of many articles and four books on Chinese history, including *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China: Aspects of Social Mobility, 1368-1911* (New York, 1962). This article is a distillation of his recent book in Chinese, *Huang-t'u yü Chung-kuo nung-yeh ti ch'i-yüan* [*The Loess and the Origin of Chinese Agriculture*] (Hong Kong, 1969). This study was made possible by research grants from the Graduate Division of the Social Sciences and the Committee on Far Eastern Studies of the University of Chicago. Mr. Ho received general consultation and technical advice from Fred Eggan, Marvin W. Mikesell, Paul D. Voth, and William H. McNeill of the University of Chicago, Hui-lin Li of the Morris Arboretum, Louis Williams and M. Kenneth Starr of the Field Museum of Natural History, and Kwang-chih Chang of Yale University. Since Mr. Ho's book has a full bibliography, Chinese sources in this article were kept to a minimum.

¹ The relationship between cereal agriculture and the rise of higher culture is systematically discussed in E. D. Merrill, "Plants and Civilizations," *Scientific Monthly*, XLIII (Nov. 1936), 430-39.

vironment of the nuclear area of Neolithic China is basically different from that of Mesopotamia; that the beginnings of Chinese agriculture had nothing directly to do with the great flood plain of the lower Yellow River; that irrigation did not begin in China until Chinese agriculture was four millenniums old; and that the earliest Chinese agricultural crops are botanically quite different from those cropping systems based on a common core of wheat and barley. To be sure, wheat and barley, which were first cultivated on the hilly flanks of the Fertile Crescent as early as 7000 B.C. and then on the irrigated fields of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley some time after 5000 B.C., were belatedly introduced into North China, probably not much earlier than 1300 B.C. But for over a millennium after their introduction into China they were grown neither along foothills—as they originally were in Mesopotamia—nor in irrigated fields—as they were after 5000 B.C. in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Indus Valley; they were grown as dry-land crops on semiarid loess plains where the climatic pattern is exactly opposite to that of Mesopotamia, an area of abundant winter rain. The ancient Chinese agricultural complex was, therefore, distinctly Sinitic and fundamentally different from the grain-centered agricultural systems of the other three earliest developed regions of the Old World.

While the distinctly Sinitic character of Chinese agriculture may be of interest to those who are in the process of re-examining the once seemingly unquestioned theory of the monogenesis of Old-World civilizations, my findings on rice may persuade botanists and phytogeographers to reconsider their deep-rooted belief that rice is indigenous to India and was introduced from India into China. The aggregate archaeological, botanical, historical, and philological evidence indicates that the southern half of China, as much as India and Southeast Asia, is one of the original homes of rice and that rice culture began in China at least a full millennium earlier than in India.

Since no historian can get away from time and space, I shall first discuss a datum chronology and the natural environment of the nuclear area in which Chinese agriculture began.

The first well-defined Neolithic culture in China is the Yang-shao culture, named after the village in western Honan where in 1921 the Swedish geologist J. G. Andersson discovered painted pottery and other Neolithic artifacts. In 1928 at the village of Ch'eng-tzu-ya near the capital city of Chi-nan, in Shantung

but it is most effectively stated by Paul C. Mangelsdorf in "Wheat," *Scientific American*, CLXXXIX (July 1953), 50-59: "No civilization worthy of the name has ever been founded on any agricultural basis other than the cereals. . . . It may be primarily a question of nutrition. . . . Cereal grains, like eggs and milk, are foodstuffs designed by nature for the nutrition of the young of the species. They represent a five-in-one food supply which contains carbonhydrates, proteins, fats, minerals and vitamins. . . . Perhaps the relationship between cereals and civilization is also a product of the discipline which cereals impose upon their growers. The cereals are grown only from seed and must be planted and harvested in their proper season. In this respect they differ from the root crops, which in mild climates can be planted and harvested at almost any time of the year. . . . The growing of cereals has always been accompanied by a stable mode of life. . . . Cereal agriculture in providing a stable food supply created leisure, and leisure in turn fostered the arts, crafts and sciences. It has been said that 'cereal agriculture, alone among the forms of food production, taxes, recompenses and stimulates labor and ingenuity in an equal degree.'"

Province, the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica discovered another Neolithic culture, characterized by black pottery and oracle bones and named after the nearest township of Lung-shan. Although Yang-shao, Lung-shan, and Shang dynasty cultural remains were subsequently found in temporal succession in several northern Honan sites, the time span separating these two cultures and the problem of their interrelationship remained matters of conjecture and debate throughout the 1930's and 1940's. The relative chronologies suggested and revised by Andersson were probably the only ones widely known in the West until 1949, but they were little more than educated and sometimes self-contradictory guesswork. Not until the discovery in the 1950's of a number of important local and regional Neolithic cultures throughout China were archaeologists able to reclassify China's major Neolithic cultures with more systematic data. It is now reasonably clear that these newly discovered Neolithic cultures, such as the Miao-ti-kou II culture of Honan, eastern Shensi and southern Shansi, the Ta-wen-k'ou culture of Shantung, the Ch'ing-lien-kang culture of the Huai River region, and the Ch'ü-chia-ling culture of the lower Han River area in Hupei, represent a fairly long period of cultural transition from the Yang-shao to the Lung-shan stage.

By using the method of developmental classification, an archaeologist from Yale University has formulated the following hypothesis:

Largely speaking these phases [that is, the newly discovered Miao-ti-kou II culture, and so forth] are all characterized by painted pottery but differ substantially from the Yang-shao, and the features on which they differ from the Yang-shao are similar to those of Lung-shan. In time they were without exception demonstrably earlier than the Lung-shan cultures wherever they occurred with these cultures, but at the same time they were later than the Yang-shao within the area in which the latter occurred.²

Up to the present the only relatively firm dating with which to estimate the chronologies of China's major Neolithic cultures is the one about the beginnings of the so-called Taiwan Lungshanoid culture, provided by the Yale University expedition to Taiwan in 1964-1965. Based on a series of carbon-14 tests and other materials, the Yale report suggests 2500 B.C. as the date for the emergence of the Taiwan Lungshanoid culture,³ which is unmistakably a derivative of and hence considerably later than mainland Lungshanoid cultures. In view of the necessary time lag between the appearance of Lungshanoid cultures on the mainland and their gradual spread southward, it seems reasonable to suggest 3000 B.C. as their upper chronological boundary. Since the evolution of the earliest culture usually takes a longer period of time than later cultures, the Yang-shao culture seems to have emerged in the fifth millennium B.C., possibly even earlier.

The proto-Chinese of the Yang-shao period lived in the southeastern part of

² Kwang-chih Chang, *The Archaeology of Ancient China* (New Haven, Conn., 1968), 132.

³ K. C. Chang and Minze Stuiver, "Recent Advances in the Prehistoric Archaeology of Formosa," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, LV (Mar. 1966); and K. C. Chang, "The Yale Expedition to Taiwan and the Southeast Asian Horticultural Evolution," *Discovery*, I (Spring 1967).

the loess highland, which from the geological point of view may be regarded as a "classic" loess area. Here, not only are the loess deposits unusually thick, but the fine particles that make up the loessic soil are exceptionally homogeneous in texture. The exceptional textural homogeneity of the soil of this area can be explained only by the high probability that it was wind, rather than any other natural agent, that transported the loess material from far and near and deposited it during long periods of desiccation that characterized the Pleistocene climate of North China.⁴ Indeed, recurrent deposition of loess by the wind on various parts of North China is well attested by three thousand years of Chinese historical records.⁵

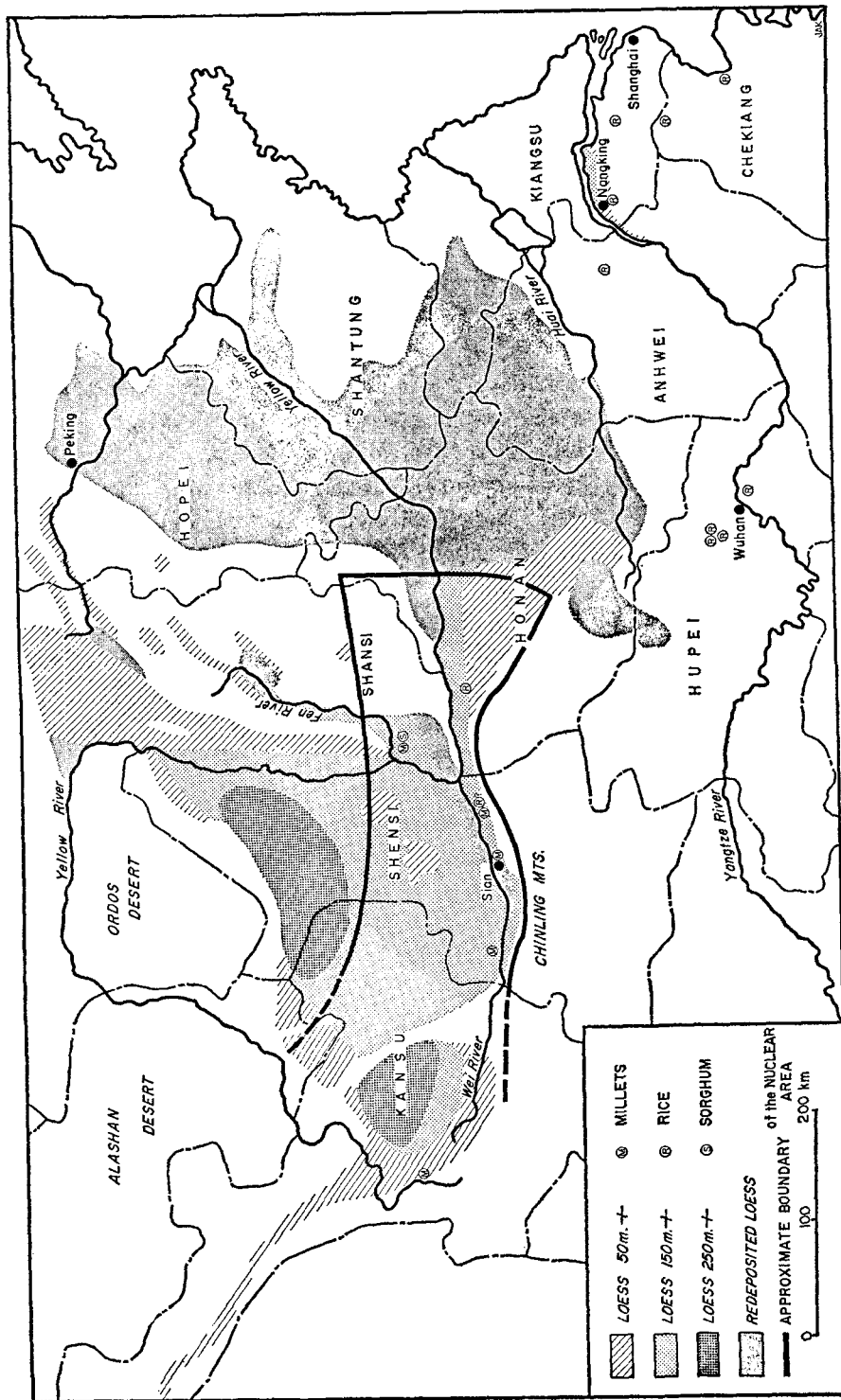
During the past million years there have been four periods of desiccation interrupted by three periods of relative abundance of rain. It was during the comparatively rainy periods that erosion on a large scale took place; as a result, the loess material was carried by water from higher grounds to the low plains of North China. Although the causes of the formation of the loess of the low plains are highly complex, much of the soil of this area is of alluvial and diluvial origins. In many localities in the low plains the soil contains a mixture of pebbles, gravels, and conglomerates. In contrast, the loess of the highland area, which is largely of aeolian origin, is texturally uniform, fine, pliable, and porous, and hence offered much less resistance to primitive wooden digging sticks. This may have been one of the reasons why, in spite of more arid climatic conditions, the loess highland area was the cradle of Chinese Neolithic culture.

The climate of North China is severe, noted for its icy winters, hot summers, and frequent spring sandstorms. The average rainfall of the loess highland is between 250 and 500 millimeters (slightly less than 10 and 20 inches). The average rainfall of the low plains is between 400 and 750 millimeters. The 750-millimeter rainfall line generally marks the southern and eastern boundary of the redeposited loess. An annual rainfall of between 10 and 20 inches, if evenly distributed over the four seasons, should meet the minimal requirements of ordinary dry-land farming. But in the loess area much of the rain is concentrated in the summer, when the temperature and rate of evaporation are both very high; there is usually inadequate moisture in winter and spring. All this, together with the fact that much of North China lies on the margins of the two main rain-producing systems of warm-season monsoons and cool-season cyclonic storms, makes the loess area of China a semiarid region.

During the past few decades there has been considerable controversy about the paleoclimate of North China. The latest opinion on the subject, based on scientific investigations of the Chinese loess, is that, despite the alternations between very dry and relatively wet periods during the entire Pleistocene epoch, the long-

⁴ Liu Tung-sheng *et al.*, *Chung-kuo ti huang-t'u tui-chi* [The Loess Deposits of China] (Peking, 1965), probably the most systematic study of the loess in any language, have arrived at this conclusion from various scientific angles.

⁵ Wang Chia-yin, "Li-shih-shang-ti huang-t'u wen-t'i" [The Problem of Loess Deposition in Chinese History], *Chung-kuo ti-szu-chi yen-chiu* [*Quaternaria Sinica*], IV (No. 1, 1965), 1-8.



Adapted from Liu Tung-sheng et al., *Chung-kuo ti huang-t'u tui-chi* (Peking, 1965).

range climatic tendency has been one of periodic and probably progressive desiccation.⁶

The arid conditions in which the loess was formed are best reflected in the physical and chemical property of the soil. As is well known, soils of humid regions are well weathered, leached, and acidic whereas soils of dry belts are little weathered, unleached, and alkaline. The loess of the highland area of China has undergone little weathering, has retained many of its minerals, and is almost invariably alkaline. After meticulous comparison with the loess of several European countries, Chinese geologists conclude that the Chinese loess was formed under climatic conditions more arid than those during the process of loessification in Europe.⁷

For the sake of studying climatic changes in North China during the Pleistocene epoch, Chinese geologists in recent years have paid much attention to the various layers of reddish soil buried in the thick loess deposits. The buried soil is of considerable scientific interest because only under conditions of above-normal warmth and humidity could the loess be weathered into reddish soil. Yet a systematic analysis of various samples of the reddish soil taken from the loess profile of Li-shih County, Shansi Province, shows pH values ranging from 7.5 to 8.8.⁸ In other words, the buried soil is still moderately or fairly strongly alkaline. What is even more revealing is the composition of the pollen found in the uppermost layer of the buried soil in a loess profile of Wu-ch'eng County, Shansi Province. This particular layer lies between 10.6 and 12.9 meters under the surface, a stratum that should represent a "humid" subperiod of a rather recent geological age. Of forty-seven grains of pollen found in this stratum, only four are arboreal (*Abies*, 1; *Pinus*, 3); the remaining forty-three are accounted for by the single genus of *Artemisia*,⁹ one of the best botanical indicators of an arid and semiarid environment. As is well known, the most typical and ubiquitous plant in the driest belt of the United States, located between the Rocky Mountains and the Cascades and Sierras, is sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata*).¹⁰ In discussing the paleoclimate of North China, the word "pluvial" must therefore be used with caution and only in a relative sense.

Of all the scientific factors relating to the paleoenvironment of North China, the most puzzling is the faunal assemblage, which runs the whole gamut from animals of tundra and subarctic habitats, such as the two species of haired rhinoceros (*Coelodonta antiquitatis* and *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*) and mammoth

⁶ J. S. Lee, *The Geology of China* (London, 1939), 371. Lee's early views on the Pleistocene climate of North China are now fully upheld by many recent studies, of which Liu *et al.*, *Chung-kuo ti huang-t'u tui-chi*, may be regarded as the best preliminary synthesis.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 141-227.

⁸ Liu Tung-sheng and Chang Tsung-yu, "Chung-kuo ti huang-t'u" [The Loess of China], *Ti-chih hsiieh-pao* [*Acta Geologica Sinica*], XLII (Mar. 1962), Table 1, p. 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Table 2, p. 6.

¹⁰ For a discussion of the predominance of sagebrush in the dry belt of the United States, see W. R. Chapline and C. K. Cooperrider, "Climate and Grazing," in *Climate and Man* (Washington, D. C., 1941), esp. 364-65.

(*Mammuths primigenius*), to animals of warm areas, such as the elephant (*Elephas indicus*) and the ordinary rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros* sp.). Some scholars today would still use the elephant and the rhinoceros as evidence to argue that the paleoenvironment of North China must have been warm and humid at certain times in the past. This argument can be offset easily by an equally partial listing of haired rhinoceroses and mammoths, normally of subarctic habitats, and of camels and ostriches, now confined almost exclusively to desert and semidesert areas. Besides, many fossils of elephants and rhinoceroses found in North China during the early decades of this century were not accompanied by detailed stratigraphic reports, with the result that they were wrongly attributed to various strata of loess. A recent systematic re-examination of the relevant verified paleontological data shows that fossils of elephants and rhinoceroses almost always came from lacustrine beds, which were formed during periods of erosion and which are as a rule unconformably overlain by deposits of loess. After considering all aspects of the faunal data, a leading synthesist of the Chinese loess concludes that ever since the mid-Pleistocene epoch the faunal assemblage of the loess area has been dominated by species of rodents, especially *Myosplax* sp., a clear indication of a semiarid steppe environment.¹¹

Probably the most remarkable recent advance in the study of the paleoenvironment of the loess region lies in the field of palynology. Of the ten available pollen studies relating to North China,¹² the analysis of the pollen of an entire loess profile of Liu-shu-kou, Wu-ch'eng County, Shansi Province, is for various reasons

¹¹ Liu *et al.*, *Chung-kuo ti huang-t'u tui-chi*, 115-32. It should be noted that in ancient times North China, especially the low plains, had marshes where elephants and rhinoceroses lived. Elephants trekked south in Shang times, but rhinoceroses are known to have lingered in marshy areas of North China until rather late in Chou times (1027[?]-256 B.C.). For details, see Ho, *Huang-t'u yü Chung-kuo nung-yeh ti ch'i-yüan*, 24, n. 18, 19. Possibly the puzzle of elephants and rhinoceroses in ancient North China may be accounted for by the animals' remarkable range of mobility and equally remarkable ability to adapt themselves over a certain length of time to environments different from those of their favorite habitats.

¹² These studies are so valuable that a complete listing may be useful to Western scientists: Sung Chih-ch'en, "San-men-hsi chih-wu-hua-shih ho p'ao-tzu-hua-fen-tsu-ho ti yen-chiu" [A Study of the Fossilized Plants and Pollen Spectrum of the San-men Series], *Quaternaria Sinica*, I (No. 1, 1958); Chou K'un-shu *et al.*, "Shan-hsi Li-shih Wang-chia-kou Ch'en-chia-yai lao-huang-t'u mai-ts'ang-t'u-jang chung ti p'ao-fen chi chih-wu-ts'an-t'i" [The Pollen and Paleobotanical Remains of the Buried Soils in the Old Loess Deposits of Ch'en-chia-yai, Wang-chia-kou, Li-shih County, Shansi Province], *ibid.*, III (Nos. 1-2, 1960); Hsü Jen, "Chung-kuo-yüan-jen shih-tai ti Pei-ching ch'i-hou-huan-ching" [The Climatic Environment of the Peking Area during the Times of the Chinese Ape Men], *ibid.*, IV (No. 1, 1965); Sun Meng-jung, "Chou-k'ou-tien Chung-kuo-yüan-jen-hua-shih-ts'eng ti p'ao-tzu-hua-fen tsu-ho" [The Pollen Spectrum of the Stratum of the Chinese Ape Men of Chou-k'ou-tien], *ibid.*; Liu Chin-ling *et al.*, "Yen-shan nan-lu ni-t'anti p'ao-fen tsu-ho" [The Pollen Profile of the Peat Bogs of the Southern Foothill of Yen-shan], *ibid.*; Chou K'un-shu, "Tui Pei-ching-shih fu-chin liang-ke mai-ts'ang-ni-t'an-chao ti tiao-ch'a chi ch'i p'ao-fen fen-hsi" [A Field Survey of Two Peat Bog Marshes Near Peking and an Analysis of Their Pollen Composition], *ibid.*; Liu Mu-ling, "Ho-nan Shan-hsien Hui-hsing-chen Hui-hsing-kou tsao-keng-hsin-shih tui-chi chung ti p'ao-fen-tsu-ho ch'u-pu yen-chiu" [A Preliminary Study of the Pollen Composition of an Early Pleistocene Deposit at Hui-hsing-kou, Hui-hsing-chen, Shan-hsien, Honan], *ibid.*; Ch'en ch'eng-hui *et al.*, "Liao-tung-pan-tao P'u-lan-tien fu-chin han ku-lien-tzu ti ch'üan-hsin-shih tui-chih-wu ti p'ao-fen fen-hsi" [An Analysis of the Pollen of the Holocene Deposit of P'u-lan-tien, Liao-tung Peninsula, Which Contains Ancient Lotus Seeds], *ibid.*; Liu and Chang, "Chung-kuo ti huang-t'u," which offers by far the most systematic palynological data of a classic loess area, Wu-ch'eng County, Shansi Province; Chou K'un-shu, "Hsi-an Pan-p'o hsin-shih-ch'i-shih-tai i-chih ti p'ao-fen fen-hsi" [An Analysis of the Pollen Gathered at the Pan-p'o Neolithic Site Near Sian], *K'ao-ku [Archaeology]* (No. 9, 1963).

the most relevant. Few localities can offer a more complete loess profile than Wu-ch'eng, a name that in recent years has been used by Chinese geologists to exemplify all strata of the loess deposited during the early Pleistocene period. Unlike other studies of the pollen of North China, which deal with certain specific periods of the Pleistocene epoch, the Wu-ch'eng study chronologically covers the past million years. The entire Wu-ch'eng profile of 121 meters is divided, for palynological study, into as many as 106 strata, so that vegetational and implied climatic changes can be studied in minute detail. Since my study is more concerned with the vegetation and climate of the geological period nearest to the dawning of Chinese agriculture, I have tabulated separately the pollen of the loess profile of the upper twenty meters.¹³

Table I
Analysis of the Pollen of the Loess Profile of Wu-ch'eng

Plant	Total Number of Pollen Grains (1-20 m.)	Total Number of Pollen Grains (20-121 m.)	Total Number of Pollen Grains (Entire Profile, 1-121 m.)
A. Arboreal			
<i>Abies</i>	2	0	2
<i>Pinus</i>	15	13	28
Cupressaceae	3	0	3
<i>Juglans</i>	0	3	3
<i>Carpinus</i>	0	3	3
<i>Quercus</i>	2	6	8
<i>Ulmus</i>	0	1	1
<i>Morus</i>	2	0	2
<i>Acer</i>	0	1	1
<i>Ephadra</i>	0	2	2
<i>Salix</i>	7	12	19
<i>Corylus</i>	2	0	2
Total (Arboreal)	33	41	74
B. Nonarboreal			
<i>Typha</i>	1	1	2
Gramineae	56	118	174
Cyperaceae	3	3	6
<i>Humulus</i>	3	16	19
Chenopodiaceae	18	58	76
Caryophyllaceae	1	1	2
<i>Clematis</i>	48	5	53
<i>Convolvulus</i>	14	0	14
<i>Artemisia</i>	722	330	1,052
Compositae	32	45	77
Dicotyledoneae	72	1	73
Total (Nonarboreal)	970	578	1,548
Total (A + B)	1,003	619	1,622

¹³ My table is based on Liu and Chang "Chung-kuo ti huang-t'u." In the original table *Filicales* and *Bryales* constitute a small separate category; since the latter has not been counted in the original table, I omit these two species entirely from the summary.

This table reveals several important aspects of the paleoenvironment of the loess highland. First, the fact that trees and shrubs account for merely 74 of the 1,622 grains of pollen testifies that this area was, much as it is today, rather meager in forest resources. The relative significance of *Pinus* (pines) and *Salix* (willows), which account for forty-seven of a total of seventy-four arboreal pollen grains, should be briefly discussed. It is well known that with its two air sacks pine pollen can travel a long distance from its mountainous habitat, and willows generally grow along edges of water. In other words, the over-all meager forest resources and the likely special habitats of the two numerically significant groups of trees would indicate that the level areas of the semiarid loess highland were little, if at all, forested.

Second, the most striking phenomenon in the pollen profile is the overwhelming predominance of herbaceous plants, which account for 1,548 grains of pollen or 95.4 per cent of the total. There can be little doubt that the loess highland area, except for its mountains, hills, slopes, and places near watercourses, has always been a nonwooded steppe. The fact that *Artemisia* alone accounts for as much as 64.8 per cent of the pollen emphatically reflects the ecology of a semiarid steppe.

Third, whereas *Artemisia* represents 53.3 per cent of the pollen found deeper than twenty meters, it represents 71.8 per cent of the pollen found in the upper twenty meters. This sharp increase in the percentage of *Artemisia* indicates that the climate in the late Pleistocene epoch was becoming cooler and drier.

Fourth, next to *Artemisia* the most significant groups of herbaceous plants are the family of Gramineae, which consists of many kinds of weeds later domesticated by men as food crops, and the family of Chenopodiaceae, which consists of a large number of spinach-like wild plants sometimes used as vegetables and often grown by primitive men for their seeds.¹⁴ Gramineae account for 10.7 per cent of the pollen total and are fairly evenly distributed chronologically throughout the past million years. In the light of archaeological and literary evidence concerning the earliest Chinese cereal crops, the prevalence of Gramineae cannot be interpreted as an indication that a wide range of potential food plants has existed since the early Pleistocene epoch; on the contrary, it indicates the existence of rather few kinds of potential cereal plants which, in spite of the prolonged and relentless struggle against such xerophytic plants as *Artemisia* and Chenopodiaceae, had survived in a semiarid area in sufficient quantities to be utilized eventually by the Yang-shao farmers.

The main characteristics of the paleoenvironment revealed by the above table are corroborated not only by studies of pollen profiles gathered from other localities in North China but also by the botanical records preserved in ancient Chi-

¹⁴For a discussion of the extensive use of Chenopodiaceae by primitive men, see *Sturtevant's Notes on Edible Plants*, ed. U. P. Hederick (Albany, N. Y., 1919), 160-61. That Chenopodiaceae were possibly extensively grown by the Yang-shao farmers of Pan-p'o, near Sian, is reflected in Chou, "Hsi-an Pan-p'o hsin-shih-ch'i-shih-tai i-chih ti p'ao-fen fen-hsi." Of a total of 278 pollen grains found in a Yang-shao cultural stratum 2.8 meters deep, arboreal pollen grains account for only 40, but Chenopodiaceae and *Artemisia* account for 141 and 38, respectively.

nese literary works. Of all the literary works, *The Book of Odes* (*Shih-ching*) contains by far the most extensive botanical records. Sinologists the world over agree on the authenticity and textual excellence of this ancient work, which illuminates the life of the Chinese from the late eleventh century to the middle of the sixth century B.C. It is true that this anthology of 305 songs and odes collected from the Chou royal domain and the feudal states¹⁵ mentions less than 150 plants, a number that is infinitesimal as compared with the number of species known to botanists today. But when it is remembered that the total numbers of plants known to and mentioned by the ancient Egyptians, the Bible, Homer, and Herodotus are only fifty-five, eighty-three, sixty, and sixty-three, respectively,¹⁶ *The Book of Odes* is really a mine of information for historians and botanists. For a majority of cases, moreover, *The Book of Odes* states the type of topography in which a plant grows—mountain, plain, wet lowland near water, marsh, pond, or river. The geographic areas covered by the 305 songs and odes are Shensi, Shansi, and Honan Provinces, the Han River Valley down to the middle Yangtze Valley, western and central Shantung, northwestern Anhwei, and southern Hopei. It is fortunate that the volume's botanical records on the southeastern part of the loess highland are especially comprehensive.

Using archaic Chinese written records to check recent scientific findings on the loess area, I have identified, analyzed, and tabulated all the arboreal and non-arboreal plants in *The Book of Odes* except the aquatic plants and cereals, since my concern is the ancient "natural" vegetation. I have supplemented the botanical data of *The Book of Odes* with information culled from various classics, historical, geographical, and philosophical works written or compiled mostly before and during the Former Han period (206 B.C.–A.D. 8), and from *Wen-hsüan*, the earliest comprehensive literary anthology compiled during the first half of the sixth century A.D. By comparing literary records with modern scientific findings I have reached the following conclusions.¹⁷

First, there has been little, if any, significant change in the composition of

¹⁵ The Swedish Sinologist Bernhard Karlgren, after a meticulous study of the strict rhyming system of the odes, concludes that most if not the entire text of *The Book of Odes* seems to have been edited by officials in the court of the Chou kings. In other words, the odes as they now stand were written in the elite language of Chou times rather than in ancient regional and local dialects. Sinologists generally agree on this major conclusion. But Karlgren's other conclusion that the odes are musical airs and do not in any way reflect the life of the Chinese from the late eleventh to the middle of the sixth century B.C. is shared by none except the late Henri Maspero. For Karlgren's opinion on *The Book of Odes*, see his introductory remarks in "Glosses on *The Book of Documents*," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* (No. 20, 1948). For the more important ancient sources and modern research supporting the view that the odes were collected from, or submitted to the Chou court by, the various feudal states, see Ho, *Huang-t'u yü Chung-kuo nung-yeh ti ch'i-yüan*, 36–37.

¹⁶ F. Kannegiesser, "Die Flora des Herodot," *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, III (1912), 81.

¹⁷ Much of Part II of Ho, *Huang-t'u yü Chung-kuo nung-yeh ti ch'i-yüan*, deals with the identification and tabulation of fifty-four arboreal and forty-one herbaceous plants, along with bamboos, recorded in *The Book of Odes*. Table 3 (pp. 42–45) provides the Chinese and scientific names of such plants, together with their habitats, described in *The Book of Odes*. The types of trees and shrubs named in *The Book of Odes* and other ancient Chinese literary works are compared in Table 4 (pp. 57–64) with results of recent pollen analyses.

North China's forests since the late Pleistocene epoch, and deciduous trees have always been numerically more important than conifers.

Second, an examination of the habitats of trees and shrubs mentioned in *The Book of Odes* reveals that they were virtually confined to mountains, hills, slopes, and places near watercourses. In other words, apart from the uneven seasonal distribution of rain and high evaporation in summer, the level loess areas of North China do not seem to have been able to retain enough water for the growth of trees and shrubs. The statements made by the late V. K. Ting, founder of the China Geological Survey, in his famous review of Marcel Granet's *La civilisation chinoise*, which depicts the loess highland as a dense woodland dotted with marshes, are largely valid and still worth citing:

Now all geologists agree that in the loess there has never been any forestation. . . . the water table is so low that even today trees planted in the loess need to be watered in their young stages until the roots become sufficiently deep. . . . It is not denied that forests existed on mountain slopes, but the loess area has always been a semi-steppe. Marshes exist even today in the alluvial plains, but most of Professor Granet's marshes lay in loess-land.¹⁸

My only revision of Ting's view is that the Wei River Basin in Shensi Province even today has marshes, caused by poor drainage owing to special physiographic factors.¹⁹ In spite of climatic conditions that cannot be regarded as humid, the poorly drained areas in the low plains abounded in marshes and peat bogs, some of which are known to have been formed during late prehistoric and early historic times.

Third, it is by no means coincidental that *The Book of Odes* provides an eloquent testimonial to the predominance of *Artemisia* on the loess plains, which can be gauged from the number of its varietal names and from its frequency of occurrence. The single genus of *Artemisia*, with ten varietal names, leads all the plants recorded in this ancient work, arboreal and nonarboreal, by a wide margin. In terms of the number of times various plants appear in the odes, *Artemisia* is barely exceeded by mulberry by a ratio of nineteen to twenty and followed by the *shu* and *chi* subspecies of millet (*Panicum miliaceum*), which appear in fifteen and twelve odes, respectively. Since *P. miliaceum* was the most important source of food for the ancient Chinese and since mulberry was vital to sericulture and was extensively grown in various parts of North China during Shang-Chou times, the fact that weeds of the *Artemisia* genus receive such prominent mention in *The Book of Odes* is an unmistakable indication that the loess area was a semiarid steppe.²⁰

¹⁸ V. K. Ting, "Professor Granet's *La civilisation chinoise*," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, XV (1931), 267-69.

¹⁹ Kuan En-wei, "Wei-ho-ku-ti ti-mao-fa-yü-shih chi ch'i yu-kuan wen-t'i ti t'ao-lun" [A Discussion of the Physiographical History of the Wei River Basin and Other Related Problems], *Quaternaria Sinica*, IV (No. 1, 1965), 195-203.

²⁰ For more details, see Ho, *Huang-t'u yü Chung-kuo nung-yeh ü ch'i-yüan*, 73-79. For varietal names of *Artemisia*, see Glossary, p. 36.

Fourth, while *The Book of Odes* mentions Chenopodiaceae only twice, the combined evidence of other ancient works shows their prevalence on the loess plains. Unless weeds of the family of Chenopodiaceae were truly endemic, it would be hard for modern scholars to explain why in Chou times the fallow land was generally called *lai* (Chenopodiaceae) and the virgin soil *ts'ao-lai* (literally grasses and Chenopodiaceae).²¹ As is well known to botanists and phytogeographers, although Chenopodiaceae require more water than *Artemisia* for growth and perpetuation, many species of this family can tolerate alkalinity and salinity of the soil better than most plants. Species of Chenopodiaceae are known to have thrived in the sun-baked saline and alkaline desert of south central Iraq where few plants can survive.²²

The main characteristics of the ancient vegetation of the loess plains revealed in archaic Chinese literature concur, therefore, remarkably well with those of recent palynological studies. Taking into account such major factors as the climatic conditions under which the loess was deposited, the physical and chemical property of the loessic soil, the predominance of typical steppe animals in the faunal assemblage, the relative sparsity of arboreal plants, and the preponderance of such xerophytic and halophytic plants as *Artemisia* and Chenopodiaceae in both geological and early historical times, it is difficult not to arrive at the conclusion that the natural environment of the loess highland, in ancient and modern times, has always been one of a semiarid steppe.

It is important for scholars interested in the origin of Chinese agriculture to keep in mind that, although the natural environment of the loess highland has been unquestionably harsh, it nevertheless has had certain advantages. Precisely because of its aeolian origin and the prolonged arid and semiarid conditions in which the loess was formed, the soil is unusually homogeneous in texture, pliable, and porous, and was amenable to primitive wooden digging sticks. There is reason to believe that the grass cover of the loess highland has never been as dense as is usually found in other major steppe and forest-steppe belts of Eurasia. It is significant to observe that while "the most current surface rocks [of the forest-steppe zone of the USSR] are loess and loesslike formations," the characteristic soils of this belt are blackish "meadow-chernozem" and those of Russia's "steppe zone" are the classic dark chernozem, an indication of their much denser cover of grass.²³ A leading synthesist of world history is certainly right in pointing out that agriculture in the Old World first appeared, as a rule, on wooded slopes and foothills because "natural grassland offered stubborn resistance to the wooden digging sticks."²⁴ That in the Old World the only major exception is Yang-shao China is substantially explained by the peculiar property of the loess and its relatively

²¹ Ho, *Huang-t'u yü Chung-kuo nung-yeh ti ch'i-yüan*, 80-85.

²² Nicholas Polunin, *Introduction to Plant Geography and Some Related Sciences* (London, 1960), 386.

²³ A. A. Rode, *Soil Science* (Washington, D. C., 1962), 364; for a detailed description of the soils of these two belts, see *ibid.*, 363-420.

²⁴ William H. McNeill, *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community* (Chicago, 1963), 16.

sparse cover of grass. Since the loess is little weathered, it has retained many of its minerals and is therefore reasonably fertile. In spite of a limited annual rainfall of less than twenty inches, its concentration in summer enabled the Yang-shao farmers to grow successfully the few kinds of cereal plants that survived the prolonged process of natural selection in a semiarid environment. All in all, therefore, the natural environment of the nuclear area in which Chinese agriculture and Neolithic culture first occurred definitely imposed certain restrictions on its early inhabitants, but a limited range of opportunities peculiar probably only to China's loess highland partially compensated for these restrictions.

In addition to the peculiarities of the natural environment of the loess highland, which had so much to do with setting the pattern of Yang-shao agriculture, the earliest Chinese agricultural system was also characterized by its freedom from the influence of the great flood plain of the lower Yellow River and, as a corollary, by the absence of primitive irrigation.

In the early decades of the present century little was known about China's prehistory. Scholars generally believed that the cradle of Chinese civilization was probably the great flood plain of the Yellow River because, among other things, since the turn of the nineteenth century, tens of thousands of oracle bones had been unearthed in An-yang, a locality in northern Honan that lies within the area of the low plains. In the West this view was systematically expounded by the late Henri Maspero and, through Arnold Toynbee's monumental synthesis of history, has gained currency among Western historians.²⁵ During the past twenty years so many Neolithic sites have been excavated and so much more about the general sequence of major Chinese Neolithic cultures has become known that there can be little doubt that the cradle of Chinese civilization is the southeastern part of the loess highland, an area that has little in common with the great flood plain of the lower Yellow River.

From generalized and specific descriptions given in massive archaeological reports on northern Chinese sites that belong to the Yang-shao, Lung-shan, and other prehistoric cultures, the following facts have clearly emerged. Most of such sites, in the highland as well as the low plains, are loess terraces or mounds along various tributaries of the Yellow River rather than along the great river itself. A closer examination of these sites shows that most are clustered along numerous small rivers and streams that often do not appear on detailed general maps of China and are known only locally. This is an important testimonial to the basic fact that the birth of China owed little to the Yellow River itself, although in theory such numerous small rivers and streams are within the drainage of the Yellow River.²⁶

²⁵ Henri Maspero, *La Chine antique* (Paris, 1927), 20-26; Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History* (10 vols., London, 1934-54), I, 318-21.

²⁶ For detailed discussion of the topography of Neolithic sites in North China, see Ho, *Huang-t'u yü Chung-kuo nung-yeh ti ch'i-yüan*, 107-17. Even by Chou times the major cities were still along tributaries of the Yellow River or at various foothills. (See Tsou Pao-chün, "Chung-kuo wen-hua ch'i-yüan-

There are, to be sure, a few scores of prehistoric sites in Kansu, northwestern and southwestern Shansi, and western Honan, which are along the upper and middle course of the Yellow River itself. Topographically, however, these sites are exactly like all the rest: loess terraces or mounds of varying altitudes ranging from fifteen or twenty to hundreds of feet above riverbeds. All the prehistoric sites of North China are, in other words, close to water, but are also sufficiently high to be safe from floods. The elevated terraces and mounds provide the best argument against the possibility of irrigation before the invention of sophisticated water wheels and water pumps.

Although the generalized descriptions of the environments of over a thousand Neolithic sites already imply the impossibility of irrigation in very early times, I shall present positive evidence that irrigation arrived late in China. It is true that ditches and trenches have been discovered at the Yang-shao site of Pan-p'o near Sian and also at Hsiao-t'un in An-yang, the last Shang capital. But the main trench of the Pan-p'o site is believed by Chinese archaeologists to have existed for the purpose of defense, and the smaller ditches which all pass through the residential area cannot possibly have been used for irrigation.²⁷ The more elaborate network of ditches of Hsiao-t'un, which cuts through much of the ensemble of royal palaces, ancestral halls, residential houses, and workshops, is clearly for the purpose of drainage.²⁸ Indeed, in an extensive study of relevant inscriptions on Shang oracle bones, a leading Chinese paleographer is struck by the people's fear of floodwater and general ignorance of diking, water-conservancy, and irrigation.²⁹

The first account of the construction of ditches in the fields, most probably for the purpose of irrigation, is given in the *Tso-chuan* (Chronicles of Feudal States). It declares that some time after Tzu-ssu's appointment as the chief minister of the Cheng state in north central Honan in 571 B.C., "in laying out the ditches through the fields, [he] had occasioned the loss of fields" to five aristocratic clans; consequently Tzu-ssu was assassinated in 563 B.C. by a band of "ruffians" instigated by the five clans. While the exact year for constructing these ditches is not given, it is likely to be nearer 563 B.C. than 571 B.C. This abortive irrigation project was resumed some twenty years later by Tzu-ch'an, the most famous statesman of Cheng. In so doing he first incurred the wrath of the people, but three years later won their high praises when the benefits of irrigation became known.³⁰ Unless irrigation had been novel and little known, these two statesmen would not have

ti" [The Region of Early Chinese Culture], *Ch'ing-hua hsüeh-pao* [*Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*], New Ser., VI [Dec. 1967], 22-34.)

²⁷ Hsi-an Pan-p'o [Report on the Archaeological Site of Pan-p'o, Near Sian] (Peking, 1963), 52.

²⁸ Shih Chang-ju, *Hsiao-t'un*, I, *Yin-hsü chien-chu i-ts'un* [Architectural Remains of the Last Shang Capital City] (Taipei, 1959), 268.

²⁹ Yü Hsing-wu, "Ts'ung chia-ku-wen k'an Shang-tai she-hui hsing-chih" [The Characteristics of the Shang Society Revealed in Oracle Inscriptions], *Tung-pei jen-min-ta-hsüeh jen-wen-k'e-hsüeh hsüeh-pao* [*Journal of Humanistic Studies of the People's University of the Northeast*] (Nos. 2-3, 1957), 103-104.

³⁰ *The Chinese Classics*, V, *The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen*, tr. James Legge (Hong Kong, 1872), 447-48, 558.

encountered such initial resistance. The *Tso-chuan* further states that in 548 B.C. the powerful Ch'u state of the central Yangtze began "enumerating the boundaries of flooded districts [and] raising small banks on the plains between dykes."³¹

The late beginnings of irrigation are further reflected in the scale of the first famous irrigation network, completed by the Wei state between 424 and 296 B.C., in the Chang River area in northern Honan. From the meticulous description in the *Shui-ching-chu* (Commentaries on the Classic of Waterways) of the fifth century A.D., we learn that this whole irrigation system was only twenty li in length, a little over five miles.³² Not until the third century B.C. did large-scale irrigation networks appear in the Wei River Basin in Shensi and in the Red Basin of Szechwan.

It is sufficiently clear, therefore, that the rise of Chinese agriculture and civilization bore no direct relationship whatever to the flood plain of the Yellow River and that, of all the ancient peoples who developed higher civilizations in the Old and the New World, the Chinese were the last to know irrigation.³³ In so far as ancient China is concerned, the theory of the "hydraulic" genesis of culture or of "despotism" is completely groundless.³⁴

The origin of cultivated plants has been a favorite topic of botanical scientists and geographers. There is considerable existing Western literature on the subject, but it usually does not treat systematically those cereal plants that are indigenous to China and were first cultivated by the Chinese. The language and disciplinary barriers are so great that the vast body of Chinese literature concerning food plants has been little known to Western scientists and seldom systematically utilized by Chinese botanists. Because of the relative abundance of recent archaeological finds concerning ancient cereal grains, coupled with the richness of archaic Chinese literature, one can discuss the origin of each of the major indigenous and introduced food plants and suggest possibilities of revising certain views held by Western scientists, which do not seem to stand the test of the aggregate Chinese evidence. These plants—millets, sorghum, rice, wheat and barley, soybeans, hemp and mulberry—will be discussed in turn.

Chinese millets consist of plants, domesticated and wild, that belong to the two different genera of *Setaria* and *Panicum*. The former is chiefly represented by

³¹ *Ibid.*, 517. It ought to be noted that *Hou-Han-shu* [History of the Later Han Dynasty] (Taipei, I-wen-shu-ch'ü photographic reproduction), Chap. LXXVI, 6b, states that in A.D. 83 Wang Ching, governor of Lu-chiang (south of the Huai River in northern Anhwei), revived and expanded the irrigation network that was said to have been started by the Ch'u Prime Minister, Sun-shu Ngo, around 600 B.C. But this is likely an attribution to a famous ancient man and may not be authentic.

³² Yu Yü, "Kuan-tzu tu-ti-p'ien t'an-wei" [A Study of the Chapter on Hydraulic Engineering in *Kuan-tzu*], *Nung-shih yen-chiu chi-k'an* [Bulletin of Studies in Agricultural History], I (1959), 2.

³³ Irrigation began in Meso-America around 800 B.C. (See Richard S. MacNeish, "Mesoamerican Archaeology," in *Biennial Review of Anthropology*, ed. Bernard J. Siegel and Alan R. Beals [Stanford, Calif., 1967].)

³⁴ Karl A. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven, Conn., 1957), expounds the theory of "hydraulic" genesis of "oriental despotism." When this theory is applied to China, the most important and most enduring of the "oriental despotisms," it is against all known historical facts.

the species *Setaria italica*, which the Chinese call *su*, and the latter by the two subspecies of *P. miliaceum*, which the Chinese call *shu* and *chi*. This taxonomic division was of course not always understood by ancient and later Chinese etymologists and herbalists. There is reason to believe that some confusion in the nomenclature of Chinese millets has persisted from the beginning of China's recorded history; Neolithic millets are reported to have been largely *S. italica*, but Shang oracle inscriptions and *The Book of Odes* both indicate an overwhelming importance of *shu* and *chi* as a source of food. Yet in the works written and compiled during the fourth and third centuries B.C. *Setaria* regains its dominant position.³⁵ This seemingly sharp vicissitude of the relative importance of *Setaria* and *Panicum* can be accounted for only by certain confusion in nomenclature.

What we do know clearly is that *S. italica* was extensively grown in the loess highland during Yang-shao times. The most important archaeological proof is the fact that at the typical, early Yang-shao site of Pan-p'o near Sian bushels of husks of *S. italica* have been found in several storage places. The quantity of the stored millets, along with the abundance of agricultural implements and the whole complex layout of the village, establishes beyond doubt that *S. italica* was a crop cultivated and harvested by men.³⁶ Husks of the *Setaria* millet have been found in three more Yang-shao sites in Shensi and southern Shansi and in a site at Ta-ho-chuang, Lin-hsia County, Kansu Province, which belongs to a later Neolithic culture called Ch'i-chia. While most of the millets are *Setaria*, those found in Ching-ts'un, southern Shansi, are reported to contain *P. miliaceum*.³⁷ If my suggested chronology for Yang-shao culture is not too far wrong, millets began to be cultivated by the proto-Chinese in the fifth millennium B.C., if not earlier.

Two independent experiments carried out by American botanists show that among common cereal plants *S. italica* has the highest "efficiency of transpiration," that is, best suited to dry conditions.³⁸ While no similar field experiment has ever been done for *P. miliaceum*, its ability to resist drought is well known. *The Book of Odes* mentions the existence of black, red, early-ripening, late-ripening, nonsticky, and glutinous millets, an indication of their varietal richness. Even today wild species of millets can be found in the loess area. All this, together with the extreme antiquity of their cultivation, should establish the *Setaria* and *Panicum* millets as indigenous plants.

Although two pioneering investigators of the origin of cultivated plants, Alphonse DeCandolle and N. I. Vavilov, both regarded *Setaria* and *Panicum* as native Chinese plants, there is still considerable confusion about their original habitats. The 1936 edition of the famous *A. Engler's Syllabus der Pflanzenfamil-*

³⁵ For detailed discussions on the nomenclature and history of millets in China, see Ho, *Huang-t'u yü Chung-kuo nung-yeh ti ch'i-yüan*, 121-33.

³⁶ *Hsi-an Pan-p'o*, 223.

³⁷ Carl W. Bishop, "The Neolithic Age in Northern China," *Antiquity*, VII (Dec. 1938), 369.

³⁸ Lawrence J. King, *Weeds of the World: Biology and Control* (London, 1966), Table 4, p. 180.

ien, for example, attributes the original habitat of *P. miliaceum* to India. A leading Indian expert on millets thinks that millets in general are native to tropical and subtropical areas rather than to China.³⁹ Hermann von Wissmann, a geographer known for his studies of the dry belts, states, without giving any evidence, that millets originated in northwestern India.⁴⁰ All this, and much else, calls for a re-examination of millets in the context of world history.

Indeed, as Vavilov suggested, there are millets other than *Setaria* and *Panicum* that are likely to have originated in Abyssinia. These species are *Eleusine coracana* and *Pennisetum spicatum*.⁴¹ Recent archaeological research on Africa suggests that these African millets may have been cultivated by the people of the "Stone Bowl" culture sometime during the second millennium B.C.⁴² This suggested chronology, if fully substantiated by future archaeological work in Africa, would still be too late to challenge the primacy of the Chinese in the history of the domestication of millets.

The view that *Panicum* is indigenous to India does not stand close scrutiny. For one thing, Indian botanists admit that no wild species are known to exist in the subcontinent of India.⁴³ For another, in India no *Panicum* has ever been discovered in cultural strata that contain India's most ancient cereal grains, wheat and barley. What is more, the philological evidence is overwhelmingly against India as a country of origin. The Sanskrit name for *P. miliaceum* is *cīnaṇa*, which means "Chinese."⁴⁴ The Hindi names of *chena* and *cheen*, the Bengali name of *cheena*, and the Gujarati name of *chino* all sound suspiciously close to "China."⁴⁵ A variant Bengali name of *bhutta* clearly indicates Bhutan, the Himalayan foothill country, as a steppingstone in the long route of its introduction from China.⁴⁶ It is also known that the Sanskrit names for a number of cultivated plants introduced from China faithfully reflect their origin, for example, *cīnanī* ("Chinese fruit") for peach and *cīnarājaputra* ("crown prince of China") for pear.⁴⁷ The Persian name of *žušu* for *P. miliaceum*, which is undoubtedly derived from the Chinese *shu-shu* (*P. miliaceum glutinosa*), is additional philological evidence that this food plant was introduced into Western Asia from China.⁴⁸

It is true that in the study of the origin of cultivated plants philological evidence

³⁹ N. Krishnaswamy, "Origin and Distribution of Cultivated Plants of South Asia: Millets," *Indian Journal of Genetics and Plant Breeding*, XI (June 1951), 67-74.

⁴⁰ Hermann von Wissmann, "On the Role of Nature and Man in Changing the Face of the Dry Belt of Asia," in *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth*, ed. William L. Thomas, Jr. (Chicago, 1956), 285.

⁴¹ N. I. Vavilov, *The Origin, Variation, Immunity and Breeding of Cultivated Plants (Chronica Botanica*, XIII [Nos. 1-6, 1949-50]), 38.

⁴² J. Desmond Clark, "Africa South of the Sahara" and "Conclusions and Afterthoughts," in *Courses toward Urban Life*, ed. Robert J. Braidwood and G. R. Willey (Chicago, 1962), 19-21.

⁴³ *The Wealth of India: A Dictionary of Indian Raw Materials and Industrial Products* (New Delhi, 1966), VII, s.v. "Panicum."

⁴⁴ Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago, 1919), 595.

⁴⁵ *Wealth of India*, VII, s.v. "Panicum."

⁴⁶ I owe this valuable information to my colleague, Edward C. Dimock.

⁴⁷ Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 540, 567.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 565.

alone is seldom decisive. But my evidence is at once archaeological, botanical, historical, and philological; there is also geological and palynological evidence. In the light of various types of evidence presented above, the significant position held by the family of Gramineae in the pollen profile of Wu-ch'eng, Shansi, which chronologically covers the past million years, can have been substantially accounted for only by *Setaria* and *Panicum*. Indeed, ever since the beginning of agriculture the life of the inhabitants of the loess highland had been so dependent on millets that even the name of Hou Chi, the legendary ancestor of the Chou tribe, literally means the "God of Millets."

Sorghum was discovered in 1931 at a Yang-shao site in Ching-ts'un, southern Shansi, along with millets and various primitive agricultural implements. A Japanese botanist subsequently identified it as *Andropogon sorghum* var. *vulgaris*, or common sorghum, which in modern times is more widely grown in Manchuria and the low plains of North China than in the loess highland. In the 1950's traces of sorghum were found in southern Manchuria, Hopei, Lo-yang in western Honan, and northern Kiangsu. Chronologically these new finds of sorghum fall within the range of Shang-Chou and Former Han times, with the find in Ching-ts'un remaining the only prehistoric one.⁴⁹

Outside of North China, the antiquity of this plant is mainly attested to by ancient wall paintings in Egypt.⁵⁰ Extensive research by British plant geneticists has firmly established the northeastern quadrant of Africa as the most important area of origin of sorghum.⁵¹ That no sorghum has ever been found in any prehistoric site in the vast area between Egypt and North China seems to support Vavilov's view that sorghum may have originated in northeastern Africa and North China.⁵²

According to modern experiments, among common cereal plants sorghum ranks second only to *S. italica* in "efficiency of transpiration."⁵³ That some varieties of sorghum are indigenous to semiarid North China is indeed to be expected. What is puzzling, however, is the entire lack of reference to sorghum in the Shang oracle and Chou bronze inscriptions and in any ancient Chinese literature written prior to A.D. 300. The total lack of reference to sorghum in early Chinese literature is partially accounted for no doubt by some confusion in the nomenclature of small-grain cereals, but also indicates the probability that those early indigenous varieties were not as satisfactory as later varieties introduced from abroad. Not until after the Mongol conquest did sorghum begin to be extensively grown in China.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Sorghum is discussed in detail in Ho, *Huang-t'u yü Chung-kuo nung-yeh ti ch'i-yüan*, 133-40.

⁵⁰ Alphonse DeCandolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (New York, 1898), 381.

⁵¹ H. Doggett, "The Development of the Cultivated Sorghums," in *Essays on Crop Plant Evolution*, ed. Sir Joseph Hutchinson (Cambridge, Eng., 1965), 50-69.

⁵² Vavilov, *Origin, Variation, Immunity and Breeding of Cultivated Plants*, 21, 38.

⁵³ King, *Weeds of the World*, 180.

⁵⁴ Michael Hagerty, "Comments on Writings concerning Chinese Sorghum," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, V (1940), 234-60; see also Ping-ti Ho, *Studies on the Population of China, 1368-1953* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 181-83.

Of the various Neolithic artifacts discovered in 1921 at the Yang-shao village and brought back to Sweden by J. G. Andersson for further study, no single finding can be more significant than the identification by two Swedish botanists of the imprints of cultivated rice (*Oryza sativa*) on a fragment of a pottery jar.⁵⁵ "The discovery was," in the words of Andersson, "in a high degree sensational not only because it sets back the history of rice an immense distance in time, but also because it points, not to dry Central Asia, but to rainy Southern Asia, which is the homeland of rice."⁵⁶ Although the name for the earliest known Chinese Neolithic culture is derived from the village of Yang-shao, the whole cultural assemblage discovered at this village is now generally believed to be of a much later type than that of Pan-p'o, which best represents the early Yang-shao stage. The approximate date of rice culture at the Yang-shao village is probably close to the dawning of Lungshoid cultures around 3000 B.C.

Finds of prehistoric rice in China after 1949 are exceptionally rich. While the rice discovered in 1921 at the Yang-shao village in western Honan has remained the only verified case of rice culture within the southeastern part of the loess highland, prehistoric rice has been found in nine more localities in the area south of the Huai River and in the central and lower Yangtze regions,⁵⁷ which lie outside the Neolithic nuclear area. Since typologically these newly discovered Neolithic cultures of the Huai River region and the central Yangtze represent a fairly long period of cultural transition from Yang-shao to Lung-shan, most of the rice finds should probably be dated somewhere around 3000 B.C., although the lower chronological boundary of the Liang-chu Neolithic culture of northern Chekiang may correspond to the first verified historic period of Shang. The unusually large quantities of rice husks found in the baked red clay in several Hupei sites belonging to the Ch'ü-chia-ling culture indicate the cultivation of rice on a considerable scale. At the Chu-chia-tsui site, Ching-shan County, Hupei Province, where similar evidence of large-scale rice cultivation is found, the cultural assemblage reveals an especially primitive character and therefore indicates an even greater antiquity of rice culture.⁵⁸ From existing evidence there is reason to believe that rice may have been cultivated first in the lower Han River area late in the fourth millennium B.C. before it was introduced into the Neolithic nuclear area.

Recent Chinese archaeological finds also raise serious doubt as to the general view held by botanical scientists that rice is indigenous only to Southern and Southeastern Asia and that rice was introduced from India into China; the opinion of Vavilov, which is widely accepted, is worth citing:

Even though tropical India may stand second to China in the number of species [of cultivated plants], its *rice*, which was introduced into China, where it has been the

⁵⁵ G. Edman and E. Söderberg, "Auffindung von Reis in einer Tonscherte aus einer etwa fünftausendjährigen chinesischen Siedlung," *Bulletin of the Geological Society of China*, VIII (No. 4, 1929), 363-68.

⁵⁶ J. G. Andersson, *Children of the Yellow Earth* (London, 1934), 336.

⁵⁷ See Ho, *Huang-t'u yü Chung-kuo nung-yehti ch'i-yüan*, 140-45.

⁵⁸ For this earliest rice find in Hupei, see *Archaeology* (No. 5, 1964), 215-19.

staple food plant for the past thousand years, makes tropical India even more important in world agriculture. That India is the native home of rice is borne out by the presence there of a number of wild rice species, as well as common rice, growing wild, as weeds, and possessing a character common to wild grasses, namely, shedding of the grain at maturity, which insures self-sowing. Here are also found intermediate forms connecting wild and cultivated rice. The varietal diversity of the cultivated rice of India is the richest in the world, the coarse-grained primitive varieties being especially typical. India differs from China and other secondary regions of cultivation in Asia by the prevalence of dominant genes in its rice varieties.⁵⁹

The scientific reasons given by so eminent a botanist as Vavilov for regarding tropical India as the original home of rice merit respect. But historians must further investigate whether rice was indeed introduced into China from India; whether China, at least the area south of the natural geographic demarcation of Ch'in-ling and the Huai River, may not have been one of the original homes of rice; and whether there is sufficiently strong botanical and historical evidence for the existence of wild species of rice in China.

When the problem of rice culture is studied in the context of world history, what is most surprising is the fact that the existing Indian archaeological and written records all indicate a much later beginning of rice culture. Sir Mortimer Wheeler summarizes well the recent archaeological findings on rice in India:

Now rice-impressions have been recognized at the Harappan site of Lothal in Phase A, which on radio-carbon dating lasted until 1700 B.C. or somewhat later. At about the same time, rice appears in Periods II-IV on the little site of Navdatoli, far away on the central reaches of the Narmadā or Narmadā. Here radio-carbon analysis gives a date of 1660 B.C. ± 130 for a late level of Period II. In Period I, which seems not to have been very much earlier, wheat had been found, but not rice; so that, if the evidence is representative, rice was known in western India in the eighteenth century B.C., and in central India perhaps a century later. No earlier dates for the grain appear at present to be available anywhere.⁶⁰

Our comparative archaeological data show that rice culture in China anticipated rice culture in India by at least a thousand years.

It is equally significant to note that the Rig-Veda, the earliest sacred book in Sanskrit compiled probably around 1000 B.C. or slightly earlier, never mentions rice, but often alludes to wheat and barley. The Sanskrit name for rice, *vr̥hi*, appears only in the Atharva-Veda and other works written after 1000 B.C.⁶¹ In contrast, the oracle records of the Shang and various works of the Chou periods all testify to rice culture and the brewing of rice wine, although throughout ancient times rice remained an "aristocrat" among cereal grains, consumed by the ruling class on ceremonial occasions only.

Twenty-three species of the swampy grasses of *Oryza* have been recognized

⁵⁹ Vavilov, *Origin, Variation, Immunity and Breeding of Cultivated Plants*, 29; his view is upheld fully in the long article on "Oryza" in *Wealth of India*, VII, esp. 115-16.

⁶⁰ Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Civilizations of the Indus Valley and Beyond* (New York, 1966), 90. More rice finds, all of the Harappan (ca. 2150-1750 B.C.) and later periods, are reported in Bridget and Raymond Allchin's *The Birth of Indian Civilization* (Baltimore, 1968). The Allchins' lack of exact carbon datings of rice of the Harappan period makes it necessary for me to rely on Wheeler's datings.

⁶¹ A. A. MacDonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedix Index of Names and Subjects* (London, 1912); Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (London, 1956).

taxonomically by scientists, and only two of the twenty-three have been domesticated. Of the domesticated species, *Oryza glaberrima* is strictly a regional crop confined to Western Africa, and only *O. sativa* has world-wide significance. The regions known to Western scientists where wild species of rice have been discovered are India, Indochina, Indonesia, Taiwan, Western Africa, Madagascar, Central and South America, and Australia.⁶² Since the geographic distribution of wild species of rice is truly world wide and since climatically and phytogeographically the southern half of China, the world's largest single rice-producing area, has much in common with the rest of monsoon Asia, no generalization about the original homelands of rice is convincing without a thorough search of the historical and modern records of wild species of rice in China.

Not only is the nomenclature of Chinese rice highly complex but Chinese historical records on rice are the richest in the world. In addition to references to cultivated rice, records of Shang oracles significantly mention a wild species called *ni*.⁶³ *Shuo-wen-chieh-tzu*, the earliest systematic Chinese lexicon compiled shortly after A.D. 100, explains: "The kind of rice that ripens this year and will grow all by itself again next year is called *ni*." *Ni* is almost certainly the common *Oryza perennis*, which is believed by an increasing number of experts on rice to have been the probable progenitor of cultivated rice.⁶⁴

The Chinese vocabulary was rapidly expanding from Shang to Han times. Because of different pronunciations in different regional dialects and because of the inevitable process of corruption of the original usage, by Han times four homonyms of *lǚ* and a character *li* had been derived from the original character *ni*.⁶⁵ *Huai-nan-tzu*, an eclectic work of the second century B.C. compiled by scholars employed by the Prince of Huai-nan, contains an important entry about the *li* wild rice: "*Li* ripens somewhat earlier than [cultivated] rice, but farmers treat it as a weed for fear that whatever small crop it might yield would be more than offset by the harm it might do to the main harvest [of cultivated rice]."⁶⁶ Kao Yu, who made systematic commentaries on this work around A.D. 205, explains that "the *li* [wild rice] usually grows alongside the [cultivated] rice." This passage from *Huai-nan-tzu* provides not only the rationale for destroying the wild perennial rice but also the best explanation as to why through conscious elimination the species of wild rice in ancient China had been reduced.

In all likelihood, the term *li* in ancient times might have been peculiar only

⁶² *Wealth of India*, VII, s.v. "Oryza."

⁶³ Yü Hsing-wu, "Shang-tai ti ku-lei-tso-wu" [The Cereal Crops of Shang Times], *Journal of Humanistic Studies of the People's University of the Northeast* (No. 1, 1957), 101.

⁶⁴ *Wealth of India*, VII, 114-116.

⁶⁵ See Glossary, p. 35.

⁶⁶ *Huai-nan-tzu* [Works Compiled under the Auspices of the Prince of Huai-nan] (Ssu-pu-pei-yao ed.), Chap. xx, 18b; for the identification of the *li* wild perennial rice, see Tuan Yü-ts'ai, *Shuo-wen-chieh-tzu chu* [Commentaries on the Lexicon *Shuo-wen*] (Commercial Press ed.), Chap. viA, 87-88. The etymology and evolution of the terminology of the perennial wild rice are highly complex; the most systematic treatment of this subject is Liu Pao-nan, *Shih-ku* [Etymological Studies of Cereal Grains], in *Huang-Ch'ing ching-chieh hsü-pien* [Imperialy Compiled Commentaries on Ancient Classics, 2d Ser.].

to the dialect of the area immediately south of the Huai. From Han times onward the common term for wild rice is *lŭ* in four variant forms. Though used at first as a noun to mean wild rice exclusively, *lŭ* acquired so many new meanings that it was soon employed as a general term for all kinds of wild cereal plants and also as an adjective or adverb describing the naturally wild state of any food plant. Because of the ever-broadening meaning of *lŭ*, I have excluded some fifteen entries culled from various dynastic histories in which the character *lŭ* was used in a general sense without a specific association with rice. It should be noted, however, that among these excluded entries some might well have actually referred to the occurrence of wild rice, especially when the recorded habitats of such *lŭ-sheng*

Table II
Post-Han Records on Wild Species of Rice⁶⁷

Year (A. D.)	Place (Modern Names)	Essential Description
231 446	Chia-hsing (Chekiang) Chia-hsing	Wild rice ripened naturally. "Wild rices ripened naturally, being of more than thirty varieties."
537	Kiangsu (south of Huai)	In the ninth lunar month "wild rices had grown over an area of 200,000 mu (about 30,000 acres)."
537	Wu-hsing (Chekiang)	Wild rice ripened, much to the benefit of the local poor and hungry.
731	Yang-chou (Kiangsu)	In early spring wild rice ripened in an area of 21,000 mu, and perennial wild rices ripened in an area of 180,000 mu.
852	Kao-yu and T'ai-hsien (Kiangsu)	Poor people of the two counties procured "strange rice" by straining its grains in public rivers; they called it "divine rice."
874	Ts'ang-chou (Hopei)	Wild rice ripened in an area of more than 200,000 mu, much to the benefit of the poor of local and neighboring counties.
979	Su-hsien (Anhwei)	In the eighth lunar month wild rice ripened in lakes; harvest was gathered by the poor who called it "divine rice."
1010	Kung-an (Hupei)	In the second lunar month wild rice ripened, and people procured a harvest of four hundred bushels.
1013	4 counties of T'ai-chou (Kiangsu)	In the second lunar month "divine rice" ripened in various places in the four counties.
1023	Soochow (Kiangsu) and Chia-hsing (Chekiang)	"Divine rice" ripened in the sixth month in the lakes of these areas; harvests were gathered by the poor.

⁶⁷ For a complete listing of primary sources, see Ho, *Huang-t'u yü Chung-kuo nung-yeh ti ch'i-yüan*, 137-39.

(wildly grown) grains were marshes and edges of rivers and lakes south of the Huai River. For prudence I have eliminated all entries that are not precisely phrased and checked through various post-Han dynastic histories so that none of the entries presented in the above table can be construed as escapes from cultivation as a result of temporary abandonment of fields caused by wars or natural calamities.

The above entries probably represent only a very small fraction of the reports submitted to the imperial government by various provincial and local authorities. Concerning the frequency of reports on the appearance of wild rice in early Sung times, Ma Tuan-lin, the great encyclopedist of the late thirteenth century, said that they were so numerous that he could choose only a few for inclusion in his encyclopedia in the chapter on unusual plants.⁶⁸ The founder of the Ming dynasty, who reigned from 1368 to 1398, ordered that only natural calamities, but not auspicious natural phenomena, be regularly reported to the throne.⁶⁹ This regulation, which was observed by later rulers of the Ming and Ch'ing periods, caused the virtual disappearance of the mention of wild rice from all the central government's records. The continual dissemination of early-ripening and relatively drought-resistant rice since the beginning of the eleventh century, the endless process of breeding better strains of rice, and an increasingly labor-intensive system of rice culture during the past millennium have all contributed to a drastic decline in the incidence of wild rice in China.⁷⁰ Despite all this, the late E. D. Merrill found in the 1910's some wild species of rice in Kwangtung, and Chinese botanists have recently discovered more in Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Yunnan.⁷¹

The entries of wild rice tabulated above deserve further analysis. The extents of the areas in which wild rice grew and ripened were so large as to rule out the possibility of accidental escape from cultivation. The places in which wild rice appeared—public and untitled lakes, rivers, and marshes—further show that the rice must have truly grown wild. Those kinds of wild rice that ripened in early spring were obviously different from cultivated rice that usually ripened in late summer and early fall. It is most interesting that the vulgar name of "divine rice" suggests not only its wild origin but also the likelihood that it might be *Oryza fatua*, a weed that some rice experts believe to have been the progenitor of cultivated rice. I. H. Burkill, an authority on the flora of Southern and South-eastern Asia, describes the peculiarities of *O. fatua*:

In the fields of south-western and western India, it [*O. fatua*] is exactly like the annual *O. sativa* in every respect except that it shatters at maturity. In the Gangetic

⁶⁸ *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* [Historical Investigation on Government Institutions and Culture] (Commercial Press ed.), Chap. cxcix, 2367.

⁶⁹ *Ta-Ming hui-tien* [Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty] (1587 ed., Taipei photostat reproduction), Chap. ciii, 3b-4a.

⁷⁰ For details, see Ping-ti Ho, "Early-Ripening Rice in Chinese History," *Economic History Review*, 2d Ser., IX (Dec. 1956), 200-18.

⁷¹ Recent reports of discoveries of wild species of rice in southern China are not available; a brief mention of these recent discoveries is given in Hsia Nai, "Ch'ang-chiang-liu-yü k'ao-ku wen-t'i" [Archaeological Problems of the Yangtze Area], *Archaeology* (No. 2, 1960).

plains it is seen in a different form, but still is just like *O. sativa* except for shattering. The poor do not ignore it, but tying the awns together before maturity save the grain for themselves, or they collect the fallen grain, which is made an easier process by the length of the awns.⁷²

Had it not been for the fact that the "divine rice" shattered at maturity, the poor would not have had to collect the grains by straining through river and lake water. The records on wild species of rice in three thousand years of Chinese literature are impressive.

Of particular interest to plant geneticists is the fact that most of the varieties of rice recorded in Chinese literature prior to A.D. 1000 are of the *keng* subspecies, or *Oryza sativa japonica*.⁷³ The *keng* varieties are, in other words, usually confined to the temperate zone of Eastern Asia and characterized by their shorter and more rounded grains, as compared with grains of the tropical *Oryza sativa indica*. It is well known to geneticists that "the two groups differ in morphological and several physiological features including response to temperature and day length."⁷⁴ A preliminary morphological study of the prehistoric and ancient rice husks found in North China and the middle Yangtze Valley shows that they are of the *keng* subspecies. A leading Chinese expert on rice is of the opinion that "the *keng* varieties of [Neolithic] Hupei may have a certain pedigree relationship with those found in the Han tombs of Lo-yang and the Yellow River Valley, as well as with those discovered at the Yang-shao sites."⁷⁵

In any case, our combined archaeological and historical data seem reasonably to have established China as one of the original homes of rice and as the first area in the world where rice was cultivated. When it is remembered that rice is the main food for more than half of humanity and that the temperate zone of Eastern Asia accounts for more than 60 per cent of the world's output, with China as the largest single producer, the contribution that China has made to world agriculture has been much greater than Vavilov and other botanical scientists realized. Whereas wheat has assumed an eminent position in the agriculture of the Western world only during the last 150 years, rice has supported a larger portion of the human race during the past millennium. China's contribution to world agriculture is therefore greater than that of Mesopotamia, which first supplied the world with wheat and barley.

Two problems about rice remain to be solved in the discussion on the origin of Chinese agriculture. First, while rice is generally a tropical and subtropical plant, archaeological evidence shows that it was cultivated in the semiarid loess highland. When a scientific identification of the rice found at a Yang-shao site at Liu-

⁷² I. H. Burkill, *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula* (2 vols., London, 1935), II, 1593.

⁷³ See Ho, "Early-Ripening Rice in Chinese History."

⁷⁴ *Wealth of India*, VII, 116.

⁷⁵ Ting Ying, "Chiang-Han-p'ing-yüan hsin-shih-ch'i-shih-tai hung-shao-t'u chung ti tao-ku-k'e k'ao-ch'a" [Notes on the Neolithic Rice Husks Unearthed in Hupei], *K'ao-ku hsiieh-pao* [Archaeological Review] (No. 4, 1959), 31-34; *Ching-shan Ch'ü-chia-ling* [Report on the Archaeological Site of Ch'ü-chia-ling, Ching-shan County] (Peking, 1965), Appendix, 78-80.

tzu-chen, Hua-hsien, Shensi, is made,⁷⁶ the early cultivation of rice in the loess highland will be even more firmly established. As has been pointed out, there have been marshes in both the highland and low plains of North China, largely for physiographical reasons. Besides water, the rice plant requires a fairly high range of temperature and long exposure to sunlight for growth and maturation. Because of the continental type of climate, the loess provinces have average temperatures of 24° to 26° C., or 75° to 79° F., in July and August; the average is actually considerably higher than a minimal average temperature of 20.5° C. required to bear a normal crop of rice in the temperate zone of Eastern Asia. Solar radiation is considerably stronger in North China than in the areas south of the Yangtze. Experiments in recent years show that the highest yield of rice per acre in China is not found in the southern provinces but in Shensi, the nuclear area.⁷⁷ Our knowledge of the summer climatic conditions of North China shows that there is actually nothing strange about the growing of rice in the marshes of North China in prehistoric and ancient times.

The second problem is whether rice culture in prehistoric times does not necessarily imply some form of irrigation. Indeed, some Chinese paleographers are so sure of the absence of irrigation before the sixth century B.C. and also of the dependence of rice on irrigation that they are reluctant to identify the character for rice in the inscriptions on Shang oracles. The truth is that primitive rice culture does not depend on irrigation, as two Western experts testify concerning Southeastern Asia:

A dry-land crop like wheat requires some sort of tool for working the ground, though it be only a digging stick. For lowland rice no such tool is required. Even today there are localities [in Southeastern Asia] where the rice field is neither plowed, spaded, or hoed. The soil may be thoroughly puddled and all the weeds destroyed merely by driving a carabao around in the flooded field, or the farmer and his family may accomplish the same purpose by splashing around in bare feet.⁷⁸

Chou Ch'ü-fei, a twelfth-century official, described primitive rice culture in southernmost China:

Of all the boundless land that lies beyond what human eyes can reach, not 1 per cent of such land has been brought under cultivation. In preparing the fields for rice planting, the peasants choose only the kind of land that is evenly submerged under water all year round. If the land is a bit too high [to be submerged constantly], they would reject it. Even when they do cultivate, they would barely break up the ground without deep plowing or hoeing. They simply broadcast the [rice] seeds, never transplant the shoots. After the seeds are broadcast, they do not water the fields during drought; nor do they drain off [the surplus] water after excessive rain. Caring nothing about manuring, deep plowing, and weeding, they leave everything to heaven.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ This preliminary report on the excavation at Liu-tzu-chen is in *Archaeology* (No. 2, 1959), 73.

⁷⁷ Chu K'e-chen, "Lun wo-kuo ch'i-hou ti chi-ke t'e-tien chi ch'i yü liang-shih-tso-wu sheng-ch'an ti kuan-hsi" [Some Characteristics of the Climate of China and Their Relationship to Agricultural Production], *Ti-li hsüeh-pao* [*Acta Geographica Sinica*], XXX (No. 1, 1964).

⁷⁸ V. D. Wichizer and M. K. Bennett, *The Rice Economy of Monsoon Asia* (Stanford, Calif., 1941), 14-15.

⁷⁹ Chou Ch'ü-fei, *Ling-wai tai-ta* [Answers to Queries on Southernmost China] (Ts'ung-shu-chi-ch'eng ed.), 36.

Chou's description of primitive rice culture in the twelfth century A.D. must have been true for the prehistoric method of growing rice. That rice seeds were broadcast in prehistoric times is almost certain, for not until after the time of Christ did the Chinese character *yang* (young rice shoot) begin to appear in *Shuo-wen*, and not until the second century A.D. was the method of transplanting young rice shoots from nursery beds to the main paddies described in a short agricultural treatise.⁸⁰ The technique of transplantation, which contributes so much to the increase of yield per acre, was undoubtedly a Chinese invention because even today in many parts of India transplantation of rice shoots is not practiced.

The addition of rice to the cropping system accentuated the Sinitic character of prehistoric and ancient Chinese agriculture.

Although records of Shang oracles contain the characters for wheat and barley, there has not been a single verified prehistoric find of wheat and barley in China. It is true that nearly a kilogram of carbonized wheat grains is reported to have been found in a Lung-shan site in northern Anhwei along the Huai River, but the fact that the grains are contained in a Chou-type pottery jar makes the preliminary dating of wheat highly suspect.⁸¹

The amount and quality of Western scientific and archaeological studies of wheat and barley make it unnecessary for historians of Chinese agriculture to examine the original habitats of these two food plants. North China must be excluded from the homelands of wheat and barley because they are indigenous to areas of winter rain, and North China offers a climatic and rainfall pattern that is the exact opposite of that of Southwestern Asia and the eastern Mediterranean. Even today wheat growing in many localities in North China is difficult without irrigation because of uneven distribution of rain and especially because of frequent spring droughts.⁸²

In sharp contrast to the Chinese characters for other cereal plants which have the radical *ho* (cereal plant), the characters for wheat, *lai* and *mai*, and barley, *mou*, are all derived philologically from the character *lai*, which literally means "come" and which is used as a radical. Whereas the native origin of millets is vividly reflected in many ancient odes, those few odes that mention wheat and barley never fail to point out that they were bestowed on the people by the Supreme Ancestor, that is, God on High. Knowing that they were not native to North China but not knowing exactly where they had come from, the men of genius who created new characters could only regard these food plants as coming from God, hence the radical "come." Since the character for wheat is already found in records of Shang oracles but the character for barley first appears in *The Book of Odes*, wheat was introduced into North China some time before 1300 B.C., and

⁸⁰ The best edition of this agricultural treatise of the Later Han period is *Ssu-min yüeh-ling chiao-chu* [Modern Annotation on Monthly Ordinances for Four Groups of Commoners], ed. Shih Sheng-han (Peking, 1965).

⁸¹ For details, see Ho, *Huang-t'u yü Chung-kuo nung-yeh ti ch'i-yüan*, 160-61.

⁸² Chu, "Lun wo-kuo ch'i-hou ti chi-ke t'ê-tien chi ch'i yü liang-shih-tso-wu sheng-ch'an ti kuan-hsi."

barley was introduced into the same area somewhat later. Wheat and barley are, therefore, cases that indicate some cultural contacts between North China and the Eurasian steppe during the latter half of the second millennium B.C.

For over a millennium after their introduction, wheat and barley do not seem to have made rapid progress in North China. Various late Chou and Han works testify to their better adaptability to the low plains, where rainfall is considerably heavier than that of the loess highland. The difficulty with which wheat and barley were adapted to the semiarid highland is fully reflected in a memorial by Tung Chung-shu, a leading scholar of the second century B.C., who, in addition to urging the Emperor to exhort the people of the loess highland to grow more wheat, testified that the people of the metropolitan Shensi area had been generally reluctant to grow wheat.⁸³

It is worth noting that until the time of Christ wheat and barley had always been grown as dry-land crops in North China. The dry-land culture had been made possible only by the discovery through trial and error of certain special devices for saving soil moisture. Fragments of *Fan Sheng-chih shu*, a famous agricultural treatise of the first century B.C., give interesting information on the peculiarly Sinitic method of growing wheat and barley:

If at the time of wheat planting the weather has been rainless and dry for some time, one is advised first to soak the wheat seeds in a thin starchy congee which, being slightly acidic [through fermentation], should be mixed with discharges of silkworms. [Wheat seeds] should be soaked at midnight and must be sown shortly before dawn, so that the congee and the ground dew will all go down into the soil.

Amidst the autumn drought, [wheat] should be watered menially at the time when the mulberry sheds its leaves.

In winter after the snow comes to an end, one should use a tool to press the snow into the ground and then have it duly covered, so that the snow will not be blown away by the wind. This process should be repeated after each snow.⁸⁴

This work mentions for the first time the existence of spring wheat. Since spring wheat had been grown in the cooler foothill country of ancient Greece,⁸⁵ if not earlier elsewhere in Southwestern Asia, and since the Former Han Empire did have diplomatic and military contacts with the Greco-Bactrian states in Central Asia, spring wheat was almost certainly introduced into China not much earlier than the time of Christ.

Like rice, wheat was a luxury food in ancient China, consumed mainly by members of the ruling class on ceremonial occasions. What is really significant about wheat and barley in ancient China is that, despite their Southwestern Asian origin, they were not grown in China on irrigated fields, but were adapted to the typically northern Sinitic system of dry-land farming. This fact helps to

⁸³ *Han-shu* [History of the Former Han Dynasty] (Taipei photostat reproduction), Chap. xxivA, 16a.

⁸⁴ The best modern edition is *Fan-Sheng-chih shu chin-shih* [Modern Commentaries on the Agricultural Treatise by Fan Sheng-chih], ed. Shih Sheng-han (Peking, 1956); the quotations are on page 20.

⁸⁵ Naum Jasny, *The Wheat of Classical Antiquity* (Baltimore, 1944), 70-71.

sharpen our perception that ancient Chinese agriculture had its peculiar regional traits and characteristics, developed independently from Mesopotamia.

An additional significant difference between the earliest Chinese and other ancient agricultural systems of the Old World is the conspicuous absence in the former of leguminous plants rich in protein. No trace of legumes has been found in any Neolithic site in North China or in records of Shang oracles. Not until Chou times did the soybean simultaneously appear in bronze inscriptions and *The Book of Odes*.

There is little doubt, however, that the soybean (*Glycine max* L. Merrill) is indigenous to China, for many varieties of semiwild (*Glycine gracilis* Skvortzow) and wild (*Glycine ussuriensis* Regel et Maack) soybeans exist in China today. The typical habitats of wild soybeans are wet lowlands and edges of rivers and lakes where the soybeans grow together with reeds. While, according to extensive field observations by two Chinese botanists, wild varieties of soybeans are found in many parts of China including the loess highland, they are concentrated mostly in the eastern provinces north of the Yangtze.⁸⁶ Despite the existence of wild soybeans in the loess highland in modern times, it is not known whether they have been native to that area since ancient times. Modern experiments do show that the soybean requires about three times as much water as does *S. italica* to produce the same amount of solid matter (excluding root) and that its "efficiency of transpiration" is the lowest among common food plants.⁸⁷ Botanists know that the soybean can adapt itself only to a narrow range of environmental conditions and usually requires a long growing season with a plentiful water supply. The natural environment of the loess highland apparently does not seem to have been congenial to this plant, at least not before suitable strains were developed by men. The absence of Leguminosae in the pollen profiles gathered from Wu-ch'eng and Li-shih in Shansi and from the Yang-shao site at Pan-p'o near Sian is significant.⁸⁸ On the other hand, pollen profiles gathered near Peking, whether of the middle and late Pleistocene epoch or of late prehistoric and early historic times, invariably contain Leguminosae.⁸⁹ All this, together with its geographic concentration in modern times in Manchuria and the eastern provinces of North China, seems to suggest that the soybean may not have been native to the semiarid loess highland; it may have been domesticated first in the low plains of North China.

The lateness of the domestication of the soybean is indirectly reflected in several

⁸⁶ Sun Hsing-tung and Keng Ch'ing-han, "Ta-tou p'in-chung ti fen-lei" [A Taxonomic Study of Soybeans], *Chih-wu-fen-lei hsiieh-pao* [*Acta Phytotaxonomica Sinica*], II (No. 1, 1959); for earlier observations on soybeans of Manchuria, see B. V. Skvortzow, "The Soybean—Wild and Cultivated in Eastern Asia," *Manchurian Research Society Publications*, Natural History Section, Ser. A (No. 2, 1927).

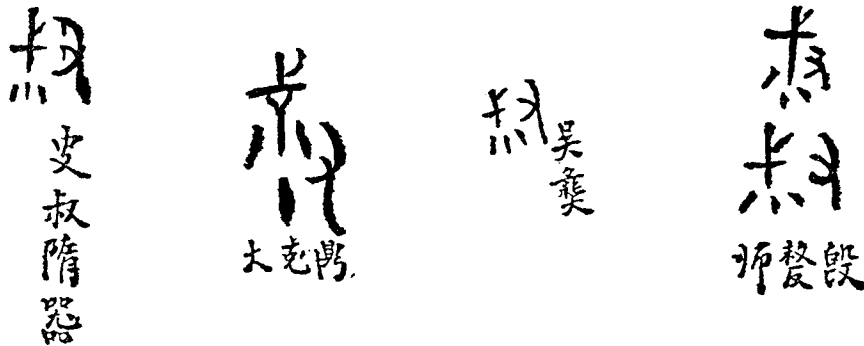
⁸⁷ King, *Weeds of the World*, 180.

⁸⁸ Chou *et al.*, "Shan-hsi Li-shih Wang-chia-kou Ch'en-chia-yai lao-huang-t'u mai-ts'ang-t'u-jang chung ti p'ao-fen chi chih-wu-ts'an-t'i"; Liu and Chang, "Chung-kuo ti huang-t'u"; Chou, "Hsi-an Pan-p'o hsin-shih-ch'i-shih-tai i-chih ti p'ao-fen fen-hsi."

⁸⁹ Hsü, "Chung-kuo-yüan-jen shih-tai ti Pei-ching ch'i-hou-huan-ching"; Sun, "Chou-k'ou-tien Chung-kuo-yüan-jen-hua-shih-ts'eng ti p'ao-tzu-hua-fen tsu-ho"; Liu *et al.*, "Yen-Shan nan-lu ni-t'an ti p'ao-fen tsu-ho."

physical-anthropological and historical phenomena. Judging from the human skeletons unearthed at the early Yang-shao site of Pan-p'o, most of the Yang-shao adults died young, between thirty and forty years of age. An unusually large portion of the skeletons of children further indicates possible serious malnutrition accounted for at least in part by the lack of staple food rich in protein.⁹⁰ Large numbers of animal bones and skeletons unearthed in An-yang, the last Shang capital, also reflect the dependence of the ruling class on meat as a source for protein and fat. Recent studies of early Chou artifacts in the Shensi area show the lingering importance of hunting and fishing tools at a time when agriculture based chiefly on millets was three millennia old.⁹¹

The beginnings of the domestication of the soybean may never be exactly known except that the plant was probably first domesticated successfully in the eastern half of North China, probably not too much earlier than the eleventh century B.C. By Chou times the peculiar nitrogen-bearing nodules of the root of the soybean plant apparently had been well observed by peasants and by those learned men who enlarged the Chinese vocabulary. Unlike the early Chinese logographs for other cereal plants, which emphasize the stem and leaves, the emphasis of the new character *shu* (soybean) was on the nodules of its root. Since the numeral three symbolizes many, the three elongated dots at the lower left half of the character pictographically represent the root's bulging nodules caused by rhizobium.⁹²



The effect of the domestication of the soybean on Chinese agriculture and on the nutrition of the ancient Chinese cannot be exaggerated. At long last, the Chou Chinese had found a food plant that, instead of causing soil exhaustion, actually helped greatly to preserve and enhance the fertility of the soil. The soybean supplied all classes of the population with cheaper and more abundant protein and also with an important source for oil, although the art of extracting oil was as yet

⁹⁰ Hsin-Chung-kuo ti k'ao-ku shou-huo [New China's Archaeological Accomplishments] (Peking, 1962), II.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁹² Hu Tao-ching, "Shih shu p'ien" [Discourse on the Character *Shu* (Soybean)], in *Chung-hua wen-shih lun-ts'ung* [Essays on Chinese Literature and History], 3d Ser. (Shanghai, 1963), 111-15.

unknown. Not until the soybean was domesticated did the ancient Chinese cropping system become well balanced. Once the benefits of the soybean became known, its subsequent dissemination was fairly rapid. The various works written or compiled during the fourth and third centuries B.C. usually mention the soybean and millets as the two most important sources of food. The unusually long time between the first domestication of millets and that of the soybean is yet another indication that the maturation of the ancient Chinese agricultural system was an outcome of prolonged trial and error.

Hemp and mulberry are the final plants to be discussed. Imprints of textiles on Yang-shao pottery have been repeatedly discovered, but a scientific identification of the fiber of such textiles cannot be done easily from imprints. Andersson suggests, probably quite rightly, that the fiber may be hemp (*Cannabis sativa* L.).⁹³ With his broad knowledge of phytogeography, Vavilov thought that North China might have been one of the original homes of hemp.⁹⁴ Modern research indicates that no fiber plant other than hemp could have been grown in North China in Yang-shao times, for the cotton shrub was introduced late in the thirteenth century A.D., and ramie is native to more southerly parts of China. The character for hemp is missing in both Shang oracle and Chou bronze inscriptions, but in *The Book of Odes* hemp appears seven times. It is well known that the ancient Chinese not only used hemp for its fiber but also consumed its seeds as auxiliary food.

Much more is known about mulberry (*Morus alba*) and several kinds of "wild mountain mulberries," one of which has been identified as *Broussonetia papyrifera* Vent.⁹⁵ Several pollen profiles gathered from the loess highland and the low plains contain mulberry. In 1927 a Chinese archaeologist made a sensational find at the Yang-shao site of Hsi-yin-ts'un, in southern Shansi, of one-half of a silk cocoon that had been artificially cut.⁹⁶ Remnants of textiles on some Shang bronzes have also been identified as fine silk.⁹⁷ Shang oracle inscriptions contain characters for mulberry, silk, and kinds of silk fabrics. If the two subspecies of *P. miliaceum*, *shu* and *chi*, are counted separately, then mulberry leads all the plants of *The Book of Odes* with twenty occurrences. The areas represented by the odes in which mulberry is mentioned show that mulberry was much more widely distributed in North China in ancient times than it is now. Unlike hemp, which was essentially the fiber for the common people, mulberry was grown exclusively for the production of silk for the ruling class.

To conclude this article, I will recapitulate certain salient aspects of the origin of Chinese agriculture. The southeastern part of the loess highland is an area of

⁹³ J. G. Andersson, "An Early Chinese Culture," *Bulletin of the Geological Survey of China* (No. 5, Pt. 1, 1923), 26.

⁹⁴ Vavilov, *Origin, Variation, Immunity and Breeding of Cultivated Plants*, 26.

⁹⁵ See Ho, *Huang-t'u yü Chung-kuo nung-yeh ti ch'i-yüan*, Table 3, pp. 42-55.

⁹⁶ Li Chi, *Hsi-yin-ts'un shih-ch'ien ti i-ts'un* [Prehistoric Remains of Hsi-yin Village] (Peking, 1927).

⁹⁷ Vivi Sylwan, "Silk from the Yin Dynasty," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* (No. 9, 1937), 119-26.

yellow earth par excellence. The many-sided scientific findings and ancient Chinese written records concur remarkably well in indicating that the homeland of the Yang-shao Chinese has always been a semiarid steppe, at least since the late Pleistocene epoch. The effect of this semiarid steppe environment surely imposed certain restrictions on its early inhabitants; the environment also offered them a narrow range of peculiar opportunities: the classic loessic soil of homogeneous, fine, and soft texture, which is not only reasonably fertile, but was amenable to primitive agricultural tools; the availability of a few kinds of exceptionally drought-resistant potential cereal plants that, hardened by a million years of relentless struggle for survival, would be fairly easy for primitive men of ingenuity to domesticate; and the concentration of a limited annual rainfall in summer, which was practically all that was needed by such few hardy food plants for growth and maturation. The Yang-shao Chinese made full use of these opportunities to lay the foundation of what may justifiably be called a typically Sinitic agricultural system.

This agricultural system was typically Sinitic because during the first four millenniums of its history it knew no irrigation and consisted almost exclusively of dry-land farming, except that nature took care of the rice in the marshes. It was thus fundamentally different from other major ancient agricultural systems of Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Indus Valley, which were all based on the common triad of flood plains, primitive irrigation, and a cropping system with wheat and barley as a core.

The autochthonous character of ancient Chinese agriculture becomes even more obvious after a detailed study of the origin of each of its major crops. Going through the list of major food and fiber crops, such as the *Setaria* and *Panicum* species of millets, sorghum, rice, the soybean, hemp, and mulberry, one cannot fail to be impressed by the fact that it was with these indigenous plants that the Chinese from Yang-shao times created and enriched their agriculture. A major exception is, of course, wheat and barley, which are likely to have been introduced into North China directly or indirectly from Southwestern Asia, probably not much earlier than the emergence of the higher Shang culture. But their introduction was too late to have any important impact on the established pattern of the Sinitic system of dry-land farming, which was already about three thousand years old. No proof of the strength and stubbornness of the Sinitic system of farming can be more eloquent than the fact that the ancient Chinese, instead of slavishly adopting the entire complex of wheat and barley culture of Southwestern Asia based on flood plains and irrigation, resolutely grew these grains as dry-land crops. This fact further sharpens our perception that ancient Chinese agriculture, with such a distinct and deep-rooted regional trait-complex, can only have been developed independently of Mesopotamia, the ancestral hearth of most of the major ancient agricultural systems of the Old World.

My over-all conclusion of an indigenous origin of Chinese agriculture would

have raised the eyebrows of most archaeologists and ancient historians of the past generation who practically took for granted that anything worthy of the name of agriculture or civilization in the Old World must have originated from the single oldest hearth. Even some leading botanical scientists, wary of the risk of theoretical speculation and concerned with concrete regional scientific evidence, were inclined to believe that, while agriculture in the New World is unquestionably of independent origin, the limits of prehistoric diffusion of agricultural crops and knowledge could only have been hemispherical.⁹⁸ As archaeology has benefited increasingly from the natural sciences, a few archaeologists have become less certain of the validity of the theory of monogenesis of agriculture in the Old World. What Robert J. Braidwood said in 1960 was prophetic:

The first successful experiment in food production took place in southwestern Asia, on the hilly flanks of the "fertile crescent." Later experiments in agriculture occurred (possibly independently) in China and (certainly independently) in the New World. The multiple occurrence of the agricultural revolution suggests that it was a highly probable outcome of the prior cultural evolution of mankind and a peculiar combination of environmental circumstances. It is in the record of culture, therefore, that the origin of agriculture must be sought.⁹⁹

While it is obviously beyond the scope of this article to examine all "the records of culture" of pre-Yang-shao and Yang-shao China, it has discussed the "peculiar combination of environmental circumstances" as a prelude to more detailed analysis of the main characteristics of ancient Sinitic agriculture.

The outcome of the recent intensive multidisciplinary study of Meso-American archaeology clearly indicates "the multiple origins of agriculture in Mesoamerica," a finding that "may signal a revolution in our thinking about the development of culture and the rise of civilization everywhere."¹⁰⁰ It is hoped that this paper may be useful not only to students of Chinese history and culture but to theorists of the origins of civilizations as well.

POSTSCRIPT

Soon after the completion of this article two anthropologists brought to my attention two preliminary reports on evidence of early domestication of plants discovered by the University of Hawaii-Thailand Archaeological Salvage Program at Spirit Cave, sixty kilometers north of Mae Hongson in northwestern Thailand near the Burmese border. Although radiocarbon datings for domesticated plant material given in these two reports do not agree with each other, being respectively 7000 and 8000 B.C., even the later dating is as early as the beginnings of wheat and barley culture on the hilly flanks of the Fertile Crescent of Mesopotamia. Chester F. Gorman, the discoverer of the Spirit Cave site, reports:

⁹⁸ Merrill, "Plants and Civilizations," 439.

⁹⁹ Robert J. Braidwood, "The Agricultural Revolution," *Scientific American*, CCIII (Sept. 1960), 131. Shortly after 5000 B.C. wheat and barley were moved from the foothills to the flood plains of the Tigris and Euphrates, where irrigation began.

¹⁰⁰ MacNeish, "Mesoamerican Archaeology," 324-28.

In addition to the lithic and faunal material a number of botanical macro-fossils have been tentatively identified from Cultural Level I. Layer 4: Species of *Prunus* (almond), *Terminalia*, *Areca* (betel), *Vicia* (bean) or *Phaseolus* (bean), *Pisum* (pea) or *Raphia*, *Lagenaria* (bottle gourd), and *Trapa* (Chinese water chestnut). Layer 4/3 interface: *Piper* (pepper tree), *Madhuca* (butternut), *Canarium*, *Aleurites* (candlenut), and *Areca*. Layer 3: *Canarium*, *Lagenaria*, and *Cucumis* (cucumber). Layer 2: *Piper*, *Areca*, and *Canarium*.

The pattern of plant consumption indicated by these remains and the ethnographic information on use of such plants in modern indigenous contexts for the area is one of exploitation of wild or tended nuts for food, butternut (*Madhuca*), *Canarium*, and *Terminalia*; for lighting and possibly consumption, candlenut (*Aleurites*); pepper (*Piper*) as a condiment; and the betel nut (*Areca*) as a stimulant. The use of the bottle gourd (*Lagenaria*) and *Cucumis*, a cucumber type, with Chinese water chestnut (*Trapa*), the leguminous beans (*Phaseolus*, *Vicia*), and possibly the pea (*Pisum*), however, form a group of food plants which suggests economic development beyond simple food-gathering. The leguminous plants in particular point to a very early use of domesticated plants.¹⁰¹

Wilhelm G. Solheim, director of the program, is reported to have made the following remarks: "This points to Southeast Asia as the area for the origin of agriculture and shows it to be very much more important than anyone has thought. This will change history and may embarrass China by indicating [that] she was not the first to develop agriculture in the Far East."¹⁰²

The above reports and claims, however, cannot be fully accepted without further inquiry. Jack R. Harlan, professor of plant genetics of the Crop Evolution Laboratory of the University of Illinois, has kindly allowed me to use his comments which will later appear in a scientific journal:

From the point of view of the plant specialists there are two points that need to be answered. First the identification, in some cases, appears suspect. If the material was really well preserved one could surely tell a pea from a palm and *Vicia* from *Phaseolus*. The other problem is a strange association of tropical plants with cool-temperate plants adapted to Mediterranean climates (*Pisum* and *Vicia*). The almond also seems out of place along with very tropical species such as *Areca* and *Aleurites*. I do not know of a large-seeded *Phaseolus* in that part of the world, but the material might have been *Dolichos* (?). The pea-palm suggests the material was an unidentified round seed, but perhaps not much more could be said than that.

The case of cultivated plants is based primarily on the leguminous grains and these are the most suspect of the identifications.

For a proper understanding of the problem of agricultural origins in the entire Far East, one has to differentiate two types of agriculture and to grasp the fundamental difference in natural environment between China's loess area and monsoon East Asia. The loess area of China, where cereal farming began, is characterized by a harsh and semiarid climate and sparsity of natural vegetation. Monsoon East Asia, which includes China south of the Yangtze and the South-

¹⁰¹ Chester F. Gorman, "Hoabinhian: A Pebble-Tool Complex with Early Plant Associations in Southeast Asia," *Science*, CLXIII (Feb. 14, 1969).

¹⁰² "Origin of Agriculture Seen in Southeast Asia," *Asian Student*, XVII (Mar. 29, 1969). The latter is not an article by Solheim but merely a report that cites some of his remarks.

east Asian mainland and archipelagoes,¹⁰³ is an area with a year-round warm climate and extremely rich plant resources. That monsoon East Asia may have given rise to an early phase of more intensive plant-food collecting or even of protohorticulture, based mainly on fruits, nuts, and root crops, is indeed to be expected. The implications of a recent palynological study of Taiwan sponsored by Yale University indicate the possibility of rather early protohorticultural activities on this subtropical island.¹⁰⁴

But protohorticulture and horticulture cannot be equated with agriculture. The most important type of agriculture is the one based on cereal grains. Although anthropologists are able to name certain minor sophisticated cultures that have little concern with cereal agriculture, virtually all of what historians consider to be major early civilizations, such as those of Mesopotamia, Egypt, the Indus Valley, and North China, were invariably based on cereal agriculture. In so far as grain-centered agriculture of the Far East is concerned, our aggregate evidence clearly indicates that it made its debut in the southeastern part of the loess highland of China. While in very early times protohorticulture and horticulture in the southern half of China may have been partially developed *in situ* and partially enriched by cultural influx from Southeast Asia, what is truly instructive is that monsoon China had remained economically and culturally much more backward than North China down to Former Han times. The Grand Historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien described the regions south of the Yangtze and the Huai River—monsoon China—as of the late second century B.C.:

[People there] are able to gather all the fruit, berries, univalve and bivalve shellfish they want without waiting for merchants to come around selling them. Since the land is so rich in edible products, there is no fear of famine, and therefore the people are content to live along from day to day; they do not lay away stores of goods, and many of them are poor. As a result, in the region south of the Yangtze and Huai rivers no one ever freezes or starves to death, but on the other hand there are no very wealthy families.¹⁰⁵

In conclusion, there is nothing definite as yet in the Spirit Cave finds that really challenges the loess area of China as the first in the entire Far East to develop ordinary field agriculture. What this article has demonstrated still remains valid: Old World field agriculture based on grains arose from two widely separated hearths—Mesopotamia and the loess area of China.

GLOSSARY OF SOME ANCIENT CHINESE PLANT NAMES

chi (*Panicum miliaceum*)

稷

¹⁰³ The Anthropology Division of the Eleventh Pacific Science Congress held in Tokyo in August–September 1966 approved the recommendation that East Asia south of the Yangtze and Taiwan be included, for purposes of scientific research, in the term “Southeast Asia.” (See Wilhelm G. Solheim, “Southeast Asia and the West,” *Science*, CLVII [Aug. 25, 1967], 896–902.)

¹⁰⁴ Chang, *Archaeology of Ancient China*, 82–83.

¹⁰⁵ *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, Translated from the *Shih Chi* of Ssu-ma Ch'ien by Burton Watson, II (New York, 1961), 490.

ho (cereal plants in general; also
a radical of characters for
most cereal plants)

禾

keng (*Oryza sativa* subsp.
japonica)

杭. 稷

lai ("come"; wheat; also a
radical for wheat and barley)

來

lai (Chenopodiaceae; also fallow
land)

萊

li (*Oryza perennis*)

離

lǚ (*Oryza perennis*; but also all
kinds of wildy grown
cereals)

魯. 稭. 稭. 旅

mai (wheat)

麥

mou (barley)

牟. 麩

ni (*Oryza perennis*)

秣

shu (*Panicum miliaceum*)

黍

shu (soybean)

菽

shu-shu (*Panicum miliaceum*
glutinosa)

黍. 稭

su (*Setaria italica*)

粟

ts'ao-lai ("grasses and
Chenopodiaceae"; often as a
general term for weeds)

草 萊

yang (young rice shoots)

秧

The following are ten varietal names of *Artemisia* recorded in *The Book of Odes*, but not mentioned in the text of this article:

ai

艾

ch'in

艾 苓

fan

艾 繁

hao

艾 蒿

hsiao

艾 蕭

lū

艾 萋

o

艾 莪

p'eng

艾 蓬

p'ing

艾 萍

wei

艾 蔚

Big Business in German Politics: Four Studies

Gold and Iron: The Collaboration and Friendship of Gerson Bleichröder and Otto von Bismarck

FRITZ STERN

IN his treatise on big business and politics, George Bernard Shaw insisted that the universal regard for money is the one hopeful fact in our civilization, the one sound spot in our social conscience. Money is the most important thing in the world. It represents health, strength, honour, generosity and beauty as conspicuously and undeniably as the want of it represents illness, weakness, disgrace, meanness and ugliness. Not the least of its virtues is that it destroys base people as certainly as it fortifies and dignifies noble people.

Shaw's extravagance in *Major Barbara* was an answer to the hypocritical disdain of money that genteel folk affected and to the scorn of it that mindless revolutionaries scattered about.

Until quite recently Shaw's dictum would have jarred German historians. They were so wedded to the primacy of foreign policy that they ignored or greatly neglected the importance of domestic politics with its inevitable relation to the cruder material interests of life. The treatment of Bismarck's banker, Gerson Bleichröder, is a case in point.¹ In his imaginative, not to say fanciful, memoirs, Bismarck virtually forgot about Bleichröder, and German historians faithfully followed his selective memory. In the important works of Arnold Oskar Meyer and Otto Becker, written during the Nazi period, Bleichröder became an un-person.² He simply ceased to exist.

Bleichröder's contemporaries knew better and, if anything, erred by exaggerating the strength of the tie between Bismarck and Bleichröder. They were closer to the mark. For both men it was a central and exceptionally close and persistent relationship. From 1859 to Bleichröder's death in 1893, the two men conferred and collaborated regularly, each deriving profit from the other's help. De-

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¹ This is a partial, interim report on my studies of Bleichröder's career and influence. For reasons of space I had to omit many aspects even of the Bismarck-Bleichröder relationship. David S. Landes and I expect to publish our study of Bleichröder in 1971. See also Landes' article, "The Bleichröder Bank: An Interim Report," *Publications of the Leo Baeck Institute*, Year V (London, 1960), 201-21.

² Arnold Oskar Meyer, *Bismarck der Mensch und der Staatsmann* (Stuttgart, 1949); Otto Becker, *Bismarcks Ringen um Deutschlands Gestaltung* (Heidelberg, 1958).

spite the obvious inequality of birth and rank, something approaching intimacy ripened. Over the years thousands of letters were exchanged, and the two men saw each other hundreds of times. With how many other people, outside his family, did Bismarck cherish such relations? The turnover in his entourage was after all fairly rapid, a fact rarely noted and yet related to the growing loneliness of Bismarck's later years. Chancellor and banker grew old and lonely together. Few people in the 1870's and 1880's still received ten- or twelve-page letters in Bismarck's hand—letters that characteristically enough do not show up in the magisterial edition of Bismarck's correspondence.

There was, to be sure, something incongruous about a relationship between two men so different from each other. What was it that linked the Jew—hedged in by apprehensions and uncertainties, a partial stranger in the land he loved too well, living off his intelligence, his integrity, his inexhaustible industry—and the *Junker*, with his early, Byronic self-confidence, his half-affected disdain of money, custom, and Jews, his irrepressible courage, and his soaring ambition? What they shared was an appetite for power and an appreciation of intelligence; what brought them together was their usefulness to each other. One of them was, of course, inferior to the other, but Bleichröder had learned the forms of subservience in dealing with that exacting dynasty, the Rothschilds, whose Berlin agent the Bleichröders had been since the 1830's. The Rothschilds lent the House of Bleichröder its initial distinction; the tie with Bismarck gave Bleichröder his unique standing in Germany and the world.

The story of Bismarck and Bleichröder, then, is one of reciprocal need and assistance. Bleichröder's role was in many respects anachronistic. In his service to Bismarck he stood somewhere between a traditional court Jew and a modern trouble shooter like Harry Hopkins. He served Bismarck in a wide variety of roles, in both public and private realms. And what could Bismarck do for Bleichröder? He could use him in these many different roles and, by so doing, give him the imprimatur of national reliability, for a banker who enjoyed the Chancellor's confidence assumed a unique place in the business world of Berlin. By various favors that governments could extend, Bismarck helped to augment—and to legitimize—Bleichröder's fortune. Bleichröder rendered service, and Bismarck conferred status; such a summary does violence to countless other features, but catches something of the essence of their relationship.

Bleichröder's steady usefulness to Bismarck in the political realm constituted one of the highlights of their relationship. Like his model, the Rothschilds, Bleichröder believed in the immense importance of receiving better and faster information than his competitors. He belonged to what must be called the Rothschild intelligence network, and in time he managed to surpass it by adding his own strategically placed informants. His correspondents included some of the leading diplomats and businessmen of Europe; they knew that Bleichröder had easy access to Bismarck, and men like to share confidences with friends who are

close to power. Bleichröder may have supplied Bismarck with more information than he needed; in turn the Chancellor used Bleichröder to convey thoughts and inclinations to foreign leaders without having to rely on the more official and possibly less discreet efforts of his ambassadors. No wonder that by the 1860's the Berlin banker Bleichröder considered himself an auxiliary of the Foreign Office and referred to Bismarck as *Der Chef*. Bismarck could rely on Bleichröder's disciplined discretion when it mattered, but Bleichröder's vanity and good business sense combined to let the world know that he was Bismarck's confidant.

In Bismarck's hardest days as Prussian Prime Minister, Bleichröder proved his beneficial loyalty. Dazzled by Bismarck's resourceful diplomacy, historians have lost sight of the fact that the wars of 1864 and 1866 posed major fiscal problems for a government that because of a recalcitrant Diet could raise no extra loans or new taxes. In that crisis Bleichröder pointed the way to an intricate and probably unconstitutional solution. He advocated the conversion of the government's rights to shares of the Cologne-Minden Railway, with which Bleichröder happened to have had long and close connections. The mobilization of that additional capital gave Prussia the necessary fiscal backbone for waging a major war. Both Bismarck and his friend and War Minister, Count Albrecht von Roon, acknowledged the importance of that transaction, and Bismarck treasured Bleichröder's fidelity at a time when, as he put it, he stood as close to the gallows as to the throne.

Actually Bleichröder, like the Berlin business community generally, abhorred the possibility that the Austro-Prussian antagonism could lead to a fratricidal war. Before the outbreak of the war, and almost certainly with Bismarck's knowledge, he urged an old friend and an associate of the Rothschilds in Vienna, Moritz von Goldschmidt, to persuade his government to sell Holstein to Prussia. Bismarck would apparently have accepted a peaceful solution that would have yielded Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia and would at the same time have humiliated Austria by forcing it to trade territory for mere money.

In Bismarck's time of greatest difficulty, Bleichröder also helped him in various subterranean maneuvers. In a world with barely developed intelligence agencies, bankers occasionally had to execute mysterious missions. Bleichröder proved a reliably discreet agent who transmitted 400,000 taler to Hungarian revolutionaries in 1866; four years later, he arranged for the support of Italian agents who even then promised to subvert France by demanding the return of Nice. Also in 1870, the Prussian embassy in London alerted Bleichröder to the possibility of backing Algerian revolutionaries, but the Berlin Foreign Office proved unwilling to foment insurrections in such distant places. Closer to home, however, Bleichröder seems to have played his part in persuading the high-minded King of Bavaria, Louis, that his support of Bismarck's scheme of promoting Prussia's king to be German emperor would have very precise material advantages for Louis, namely, secret subsidies for his extraordinary artistic and archi-

tectural ambitions. All such transactions were made easier by Bleichröder's central involvement with the administration of the *Welfenfond*, that notorious fund that Bismarck had seized from the defeated Hanoverian dynasty.

After 1871 he continued to play a semicovert role in foreign policy. He was involved in Bismarck's first imperial venture in Samoa. As a friend of Leopold II, Bleichröder was well versed in African politics; he also participated in the German penetration of the Ottoman Empire. He served Bismarck's foreign policy in many different ways; in a few celebrated cases, such as the continued placing of Russian securities on the Berlin market, Bleichröder sought to change Bismarck's policy. In the late 1880's he warned Bismarck that if Germany ceased to supply Russia with capital, other powers would assume that role and reap political advantages from it. Bleichröder's rivals and detractors pounced on these attempts to alter or thwart the Chancellor's purposes, but Bleichröder offered them infrequent ammunition.

In two other fields, Bleichröder managed to serve Bismarck and himself. In the late 1860's Bleichröder played a pre-eminent role in financing a German equivalent of the Reuters News Agency in London and of Havas in Paris. In negotiating with the government Bleichröder secured important concessions for Wolff's Telegraph Bureau; the government in turn obtained privileges that increased its influence over public opinion and that under some circumstances envisioned controls that would have come close to censorship. More dramatic was Bleichröder's role in saddling the defeated French with a five-billion-franc indemnity. After considerable lobbying behind the scenes in January 1871 Bleichröder obtained Bismarck's summons to Versailles in order to help with the financial aspects of the prospective armistice. For about four weeks Bleichröder stayed at Royal Headquarters, negotiating with the French concerning the payment of their unprecedented burden. At the same time he restored ties with the Paris Rothschilds, hoping that the two partners would collaborate in the immeasurably intricate, but also profitable, business of collecting the French indemnity. Bleichröder's all too visible presence at headquarters, his calls on royalty and military "demigods," as well as his frequent conferences with Bismarck, inflamed the already surprisingly fierce anti-Semitism in those all-Gentile surroundings. Bleichröder seems to have been oblivious to the barnyard humor of which he was the victim: he was too pleased to be at the center of power at the moment of victory to notice, and he willingly accepted the congratulations of his old Viennese friend Goldschmidt about his "great, glorious and, one may indeed say, world-historical trip. . . . I believe you that the stay in Versailles offered things in plenty of the *highest* interest and left you with unforgettable memories for life. Only the elect experience such things."³ He left Versailles with an Iron

³ Goldschmidt to Bleichröder, Mar. 9, 18, 1871, Bleichröder Archive in possession of F. H. Brunner, a partner of Arnhold and S. Bleichroeder, New York. I would like to express my deep gratitude to Mr. Brunner for placing that archive at our disposal.

Cross, second class, a memento of his share in Prussia's glory. He also helped to collect the indemnity—his share in Prussia's profit.

Before and after the founding of the Empire, Bleichröder helped to salvage the bankrupt fortunes of some of Bismarck's associates and special constituents. In the late 1860's and early 1870's a great many *Junkers* found their investments threatened by the collapse of Dr. Bethel Henry Strousberg's railroad schemes in Rumania. These notables, many of whom had the closest links to the Prussian court, had been encouraged by Strousberg's earlier and successful railroad schemes in their own eastern provinces of Prussia. Now, in his more distant Rumanian ventures, they became the victims of their own capitalistic appetite. Bleichröder and Adolf Hanseemann of the *Disconto-Gesellschaft* provided for their financial rescue. Bleichröder likewise helped to restore Hermann Wagener and Count Paul von Hatzfeldt to solvency, and many a Bismarck aid benefited from Bleichröder's advice and assistance. Bismarck's enemies fared less well: when Count Harry von Arnim, German ambassador in Paris, fell from Bismarck's favor, Bleichröder's excellent connections in Paris contributed to the spiteful surveillance of the hapless Arnim.

In the twenty years of Bismarck's Empire, Bleichröder often counseled the Chancellor on economic policy. He wrote lengthy memorandums on the establishment of the *Reichsbank* and on bimetallism, urged the adoption of protectionism, and submitted advisory opinions on Bismarck's projected schemes of social insurance. In such matters he spoke with authority. His connections with the German business world, including the *Zentralverband deutscher Industrieller*, were close indeed. Angry contemporaries often exaggerated Bleichröder's influence on Bismarck's economic policies. He was a convenient surrogate for the real villain, Bismarck himself. Even such a well-informed, disinterested observer as the French ambassador, the Comte de St. Vallier, reported in July 1879 that Bismarck's appointment of Karl Bitter as Finance Minister indicated that Bismarck would run the ministry himself or let Bleichröder do it, because his race and position as banker made it impossible for him to play an open role.⁴

Bleichröder was probably even more useful to Bismarck in the private than in the public realm. For thirty-four years, he was Bismarck's banker, investment counselor, tax adviser, and helper in all operations connected with Bismarck's cherished landholdings. At times, especially in his youth, Bismarck may have affected disdain for money, for double-entry bookkeeping, for sordid material considerations. His banker knew the truth: Bismarck was anything but a Franciscan; he had a most remarkable appetite for augmenting his property, particularly his estates. Even if he had been less passionate in his land hunger, he would have needed Bleichröder's steady help. He lived well, and his salary covered but a third or half of his expenses. The balance had to come as interest

⁴ Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères, Correspondance Politique, Allemagne, XXIX, July 5, 1879.

from his fortune—a fortune that has remained the subject of continued controversy and mystery.⁵ Bleichröder held all threads in his hands, and I hope that my study of Bleichröder will provide a comprehensive account of Bismarck's finances. A few high points must suffice here.

It is well known that Bismarck was one of Germany's largest landowners. Successive gifts from a grateful monarch and nation endowed him with the vast lands of Varzin and Friedrichsruh, to which he gradually annexed neighboring estates. It was fortunate for the peace of Europe that Bismarck's insatiable annexationism had been fixed not on national ambitions but on his private person. Indeed, a cynical observer might infer from various examples, Bismarck included, that the ambition of men of means is generally safer than that of propertyless adventurers. German historians have dwelt lovingly on Bismarck's passion for nature, on his love of trees, on his happy seigneurial relations with his tenant farmers. But Bleichröder saw another side of this idyllic rusticity: Bismarck's relentless determination to make these estates yield a profit. More than six million marks had been invested in the estates and the various industrial enterprises that Bismarck had added to them. Bleichröder was charged with supervising all kinds of details, ranging from handling mortgages to checking on the brothers Georg and Moritz Behrend, who for thirty years ran, and through their mismanagement intermittently threatened to ruin, Bismarck's prized paper mills in Varzin. Bismarck, the architect of reinsurance treaties, commissioned Bleichröder to handle his intricate insurance plans.

Bleichröder also had other responsibilities. A substantial part of Bismarck's income came from the sale of his vast timber supply, and he was always concerned to find a lucrative and reliable market. At first much of his timber was sold to England, but Bismarck complained to Bleichröder in 1882 that concerning payment "The English do not want to accept other procedures; they are used to imposing their own conditions in commercial matters."⁶ Later on, Hibernia, the huge Ruhr coal mine, became Bismarck's chief buyer through the services of Friedrich Vohwinkel, and the Friedrichsruh forester pleaded annually with Bleichröder to use his good offices so that Hibernia would renew Vohwinkel's contract. Bleichröder had been the principal founder of Hibernia in 1873 and until his death retained his seat on the Board of Directors; he could therefore help to preserve this special tie between Bismarck and big business. By 1886 Vohwinkel had already paid over a million marks to the Prince, who was very grateful for Bleichröder's intervention.⁷

Few of his contemporaries realized the extent of Bleichröder's involvement in the management of Bismarck's estates. Everyone knew—or speculated—about

⁵ The best, most recent, but still incomplete, account is Alfred Vagts, "Bismarck's Fortune," *Central European History*, I (Sept. 1968), 203–33. Another recent work, Ulrich Küntzel, *Die Finanzen grosser Männer* (Vienna, 1964), 447–511, is a popular study of Bismarck's fortune, full of errors of facts and interpretation and of allegations offered without proof.

⁶ Copy of Bismarck to Bleichröder, Feb. 6, 1882, Bleichröder Archive.

⁷ Peter Lange to Bleichröder, Aug. 21, 1886, *ibid.*

his investment of Bismarck's securities. Bismarck's enemies hinted at all manner of dubious deals and shady profits that the Chancellor allegedly derived from this connection. It was often rumored that Bismarck used his political information to play the market. The truth is at once more prosaic and more interesting. Bismarck had a steadily growing portfolio of securities over which Bleichröder had full powers. He rarely needed these powers because he would almost invariably ask for and receive Bismarck's instructions concerning the disposition of funds. Bleichröder bought or sold securities according to Bismarck's oral or written instructions. The portfolio, which I have been able to reconstruct in large part, was essentially conservative, a fitting tribute to the conservatism of both men. There were, however, some notable developments.

Shortly after the American Civil War, Bismarck was a heavy buyer of United States government bonds. By the end of the 1860's, however, his financial interests had shifted eastward: more than half his fortunes went into various Russian securities. In the July crisis of 1870 Bleichröder solicited Bismarck's thoughts on the likelihood of war; on July 10 his wife answered for Bismarck

who is very busy coding and uncoding. . . . He does not indeed believe in war because despite all the frivolity of some people, he thinks it improbable that one would suddenly attack *us* because *Spain* did not vote the way one wanted it to. But he thought that there could still come moments when the belief in war would be stronger than now and since he needs money here anyhow it might be a good idea to sell the railroad preference shares.⁸

The next day the market dropped sharply.

Four years later Bismarck alarmed Bleichröder by suddenly ordering him to liquidate all his Russian holdings. Bismarck's later explanations concerning his sudden selling—that he thought it ominous that Russia's ablest minister, Count Peter Shuvalov, had been moved from the ministry in St. Petersburg to the embassy in London—reflected his poetic hindsight rather than his likely reasons at the time. The portfolio underwent other important and mildly lucrative changes.

The greatest transaction in the history of Bismarck's capital occurred between March 8 and 13, 1890, days before his dismissal, when he liquidated his vast holdings in German government securities and replaced some of them with Egyptian bonds.⁹ Did Bismarck, as has often been alleged, perhaps think of staging a *coup d'état*, which might have depressed the *Reich's* obligations? Or, more likely, was this Bismarck's final speculation, a speculation against his own downfall? Did he assume, as he had alleged much earlier in Shuvalov's case, that an empire that let its ablest man depart would soon commit political follies? We

⁸ Johanna von Bismarck to Bleichröder, July 10, 1870, *ibid.*

⁹ There had been a sharp drop on the Berlin market—for financial, not political reasons—for some weeks before Bismarck's dismissal. On March 9 the leading financial weekly, *Der Aktionär* (XXXVII, 157), noted "last week . . . a regular panic dominated [the stock exchange]. . . . The improvement that appeared at the end of the week was . . . to the largest part due to the intervention of others, and in the first place one recognized the House of Bleichröder." It may be relevant to note that on March 5 *Der Aktionär* carried a lead article commenting on the much-improved state of Egyptian finances, in which Bleichröder had long been interested.

know that he thought it "very strange that the Emperor names his best general a Chancellor and his best Chancellor a field marshal."¹⁰ This time he was doubly right: the market reacted to his dismissal with a violent, if brief, drop in prices,¹¹ the Egyptian securities appreciated, and the *Reich* embarked on its new course of unbridled power and folly.

In the three years between Bismarck's dismissal and Bleichröder's death, relations between the two men grew still more intimate. *Der Bleiche*, as Bismarck's wife had called Bleichröder for decades, was a frequent visitor in Varzin. The two men had known each other in the beginnings of their career, amidst trials and dangers; they had worked together in the consolidation of their triumphs; and now they watched together the passing of their era, defined in some measure by the very possibility of their close association.

How can one finally assess Bleichröder's place in Bismarck's world? Perhaps one measure of his importance was simply the amount of abuse the Chancellor was willing to suffer on account of that relationship. Privately in the 1860's and publicly in the next two decades Bismarck was maligned for giving a Jew so much power, protection, and influence. The anti-Semitic agitators, Franz Perrot and Adolf Stöcker, carried the campaign to the masses, depicting Bleichröder as the evil genius of the *Gründerjahre* and of Bismarck's economic policy. Most aristocrats probably hated the Jew lover more than the Jew; resentful masses and declining classes regarded Bleichröder—an ever more visible target—with revulsion. Despite these animosities, despite the hatred of Bleichröder that Bismarck's favorite son, Herbert, harbored, and despite the fact that Bismarck had often before broken old and amicable ties, the Chancellor stuck by his banker. He was often critical of him, but he rebuffed all suggestions that he should free himself from his "pushy" and nefarious Jew. Sometimes his private, anti-Semitic apologies for retaining Bleichröder showed him to be far closer to his traducers than to his banker. Still he kept Bleichröder. Loyalty, even gratitude, may have played a role, but a modest one at most. He knew that other bankers would have been happy to take over, but Bleichröder survived because Bismarck trusted, respected, and liked him—and because Bismarck profited from the association, not in the crude sense his vilifiers alleged, but in many tangible and intangible ways. His policies, his pocket, and perhaps even his psyche profited and in so felicitous a combination that he apparently was never even tempted to trade his banker for another.

Bleichröder had no reason to think of leaving Bismarck, even though the Chancellor could be exacting, imperious, and unreasonable as well as benevolent and charming. The very fact that Bismarck could have dropped Bleichröder but

¹⁰ Herbert von Bismarck to Lord Rosebery, Mar. 30, 1890, in *Graf Herbert von Bismarck aus seiner politischen Korrespondenz*, ed. Walter Bussmann (Göttingen, 1964), 567.

¹¹ The bearish elements were encouraged by the fact that "the first House of the city, whose connections with the Chancellor are well known, served their purpose by making great sales." (*Der Aktionär*, XXXVII [Mar. 23, 1890], 197.) Bleichröder had obviously known for some days before Bismarck's dismissal that his position had become precarious.

not Bleichröder Bismarck exposes the inequality of the relationship. It in turn deepened Bleichröder's extraordinary subservience, which at times degenerated into sycophancy.

Bleichröder's embarrassing deference derived from a composite of facts and feelings. Every German would have felt awed by Bismarck's power, and Jews even more so. Every German banker of Bleichröder's generation would have instinctively understood the primacy of political over material power—and Bleichröder even more so. The very profit that Bleichröder drew from his association with Bismarck's power heightened his deference and tinged it with fear: he had more to gain and more to lose than his contemporaries. We have already seen some of the tangible rewards that Bismarck was able to bestow on Bleichröder. Bismarck helped to make him richer; Bleichröder was, in fact, reputed to have died the richest man in Germany. But Bleichröder, like most men, wanted more than wealth. In a society that was still fiercely inegalitarian, where feudal prejudices grew stronger after mid-century as a rising bourgeoisie embraced them, businessmen sought distinction, and Jews did so more than others. They had to overcome the double stigma of race and mammon. Outwardly, Bleichröder rose to the pinnacle, surpassing in his generation all of his coreligionists. In the 1860's he was made a *Geheimer Kommerzienrath*, and in 1872, at Bismarck's personal behest, William I raised him to the ranks of the hereditary nobility—the first Prussian Jew who had been so honored without having previously converted to Christianity. In the same year the British government appointed him its consul general in Berlin because, in Lord Odo Russell's words, he is "not only the Rothschild of Berlin, but also one of Prince Bismarck's most intimate friends and advisors in financial and commercial matters. Baron Bleichröder, who holds an exceptionally good position in Berlin Society, is often personally consulted by the Emperor and the Crown Prince and is generally trusted and respected by the governing and commercial classes of Prussia."¹² The great financier of a later time, Carl Fürstenberg, whom Bleichröder gave a start in life, once remarked that in Germany there was no amnesty for titles. Bleichröder would not even have understood such reverse snobbery: he accepted the system and sought to excel in it, not to escape from it. To the coveted "von" he added a host of decorations, German and non-German, and on formal occasions his chest was no longer lamentably bare. Much of this he owed to Bismarck. In 1873 he bought Fieldmarshal Roon's estate near Potsdam. That acquisition, too, was part of Bleichröder's spectacular social rise, which of course further incited his anti-Semitic foes. The higher he rose, the more prominent a target he became.

Amidst all his honors, Bleichröder was never allowed to forget that he was a Jew. To his credit it should be said that he never tried to. Repeatedly he used his influence with Bismarck on behalf of his coreligionists. At the time of the Congress of Berlin, he led an international campaign to convince Bismarck that

¹² Lord Russell to Viscount Enfield, Sept. 28, 1872, Foreign Office, Public Record Office, 64, 749.

the Great Powers must compel Rumania to grant civil equality to Jews as a price of recognition. It was a long, tough fight with the wily Rumanians, and many times Bismarck tired of Bleichröder's entreaties. Bleichröder also petitioned Chancellor and King to put an end to the anti-Semitic agitation of the court chaplain, Stöcker. For all his deference, Bleichröder could be extraordinarily persistent—a quality that escaped neither his friends nor his detractors.

Clearly there was something anachronistic in the relationship of these two men. By the time Bleichröder became Bismarck's banker, the age of the court Jew was over; indeed the great age of the private banker was already doomed in the 1850's when the German *Grossbanken* began to dominate the scene. The emancipation of German Jewry and the establishment of a relatively open liberal economy made the role of the court Jew obsolete; against the next great wave of anti-Semitism even powerful individuals would be impotent. Bismarck, too, marked the end of an epoch; no European statesman has since dominated his country for as long and as completely as did Bismarck. The powers of the state became specialized and bureaucratized, and the kind of informal, intimate relationship that existed between Bismarck and Bleichröder became less feasible in the new, so-called mass age.

Bleichröder's spectacular rise marked an important stage in the history of German Jewry. His daughter and three sons inherited his fortune but not his talents or disciplined capacity for work. The decline set in rapidly, affecting both progeny and bank. In their rise and fall the Bleichröders describe a kind of Jewish Buddenbrooks. The social and psychological precariousness of their position, always present beneath the glittering surface, became desperately clear after the rise of the Nazis. Bleichröder's descendants appealed to Adolf Eichmann to be exempted from deportation. It was a poignant, futile end to the story of the Bleichröders in Germany. The triumphs and disasters of that family illuminate much of modern German history and offer a new perspective on the titanic figure who dominated so much of that history.

The Social and Economic Policies of German Big Business, 1918–1929

GERALD D. FELDMAN

THE business of businessmen is business, not politics, and their political engagement is almost invariably a function of their socioeconomic concerns. The political behavior of big business in the Weimar Republic is a particularly striking illustration of this generalization, and the rich collections of personal papers and records of business organizations and individual firms available in the industrial and public archives of the two Germanies make it possible to explore in greater depth than ever before the relationship between the socioeconomic problems and policies of big business, on the one hand, and the nature and tempo of the political activity of big business, on the other.¹ Here I shall discuss some of the more important and symptomatic characteristics of this relationship for the period between the Revolution of 1918 and the beginning of the Great Depression.

The belief in the primacy of economic over political considerations was of great significance in determining the politics of big business. There is nothing uniquely German about the identification by businessmen of the general welfare with the prosperity and autonomy of the business community, but this tendency necessarily had been reinforced by the policies of the German Empire, which had rewarded acceptance of its political system with economic autonomy, social privilege, and political advantages. The old regime was appropriately rewarded for this systematic training in opportunism when it was abandoned and practically buried alive by leading businessmen on the eve of the November Revolution. Carl Duisberg, the founder of *I. G. Farben* and the president of the *Reich* Association of German Industry from 1925 to 1930, was explicit on this score. A staunch supporter of Erich Ludendorff in September 1918, he almost welcomed the republic three weeks too early. He wrote to a colleague in mid-October:

► *An associate professor at the University of California, Berkeley, Mr. Feldman is interested in modern German social history. He is the author of *Army, Industry and Labor in Germany, 1914–1918* (Princeton, N. J., 1966), and is now working on a study of industry and labor in Germany during the early Weimar Republic (1918–1924). In 1964 he received his doctorate from Harvard University, working under Franklin L. Ford. The research for this essay was made possible by grants from the American Council of Learned Societies, the Social Science Research Council, and the Committee on Research of the University of California.*

¹ This essay is informed by extensive research in almost a dozen private business archives in the Federal Republic as well as by the materials in the central public archives of the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic.

From that day when I saw that the cabinet system was bankrupt, I greeted the change to a parliamentary system with joy, and I stand today, when what is at stake is what I consider to be the highest value, namely the Fatherland, behind the democratic government and, where it is possible, I work hand in hand with the unions and seek in this way to save what can be saved. You see, I am an opportunist and adjust to things as they are.

Indeed, by November Duisberg was convinced that in the "red republic" a "more commercial-technical spirit would replace the largely formalistic, even if strictly logical way of thinking and doing things brought into our administration by the jurists." Duisberg could shed no tears over the "holy bureaucratism" of the past.²

Duisberg's remarks are significant because they help us to explore the psychology behind and the content of the primacy of economics over politics. The opportunism of which Duisberg spoke so unabashedly was the key to the survival of big business in the early phases of the republic and found expression in a highly pragmatic and remarkably shrewd response to issues where adherence to principle could have produced disaster. An impressive example was the rapidity with which the industrialists concluded an alliance with the trade-union leaders for the purpose of jointly regulating the socioeconomic affairs of the country, the so-called *Zentralarbeitsgemeinschaft*. No less impressive, however, was the manner in which big business actively participated in the discussions of socialization in 1918–1920, not as ardent supporters of free enterprise but as experts helping with the job at hand. As Paul Silverberg, a leader of the lignite industry, later noted, big business killed socialization by constantly presenting new ideas. It is interesting that the Right-wing Socialist journal, the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, received substantial financial assistance from certain big business circles.³

In so far as the businessmen felt it necessary to justify their opportunistic tactics they were able to do so by pointing to the failure of the bureaucrats and politicians to develop the "commercial-technical" orientation to which Duisberg referred. The doctrines of "free enterprise," in the Anglo-American sense of maximizing competition by preventing restrictions upon trade, never took hold

² Duisberg to Dr. E. A. Merck, Oct. 17, 1918, *Autographen-Sammlung von Dr. Carl Duisberg, Werksarchiv, Farbenfabrik Bayer*, Leverkusen; Duisberg to Professor Fritz Haber, Nov. 22, 1918, *ibid.* The best study of the political role of German businessmen in the prewar period is Hans Jäger, *Unternehmer in der deutschen Politik (1890–1918)* (Bonn, 1967). Useful on the later period is the dissertation by Ingolf Liesebach, *Der Wandel der politischen Führungsschicht der deutschen Industrie von 1918–1945* (Hanover, 1957).

³ On the *Zentralarbeitsgemeinschaft*, see Gerald D. Feldman, "German Business between War and Revolution: The Origins of the Stinnes-Legien Agreement," in the forthcoming *Festschrift* for Hans Rosenberg, ed. Gerhard A. Ritter and Wolfgang Sauer; and the dissertation by Heinrich Kaun, *Die Geschichte der Zentralarbeitsgemeinschaft der industriellen und gewerblichen Arbeitgeber und Arbeitnehmer Deutschlands* (Jena, 1938). Valuable materials on the role played by businessmen in the discussions on socialization are in the Paul Silverberg Papers, *Nachlass Silverberg*, No. 134 ff., *Bundesarchiv*, Koblenz. On business support of the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, see the interesting correspondence of the fall of 1923 between Robert Bosch, who urged support of this journal, and the much more conservative Paul Reusch in the *Historische Archiv, Gute Hoffnungshütte* [hereafter cited as HA/GHH], Oberhausen, No. 400101290/43.

in Germany. But this does not mean that German businessmen accepted state interference in their affairs with the graciousness implied by many exaggerated notions of the state's role in the industrialization of Prussia and Germany. Businessmen frequently argued that the real revolution took place in 1914 when the government began its massive incursions upon the autonomy of business. The loss of the war was often blamed upon the government's incompetence in managing the economy.⁴ Thus, where the bureaucrats had sought to reduce politics to matters of administration, the Weimar businessmen sought to reduce politics to matters of economic management in the interests of *die Wirtschaft*, the collective world of industry and finance. The *Zentralarbeitsgemeinschaft* rested on the assumption that the trade-union leaders would be educated to appreciate the economic necessities of the hour by continuous contact and collaboration with the employers. In 1918 Carl Friedrich von Siemens founded a Curatorium for the Reconstruction of German Economic Life for the specific purpose of encouraging and financially supporting the election to the *Reichstag* of practicing businessmen of all political persuasions. The enormous sums collected for this purpose were not dispensed to party organizations but rather to individuals within the Democratic, Center, German People's, and German National People's parties who would make sure that they were used only in the interest of "economic candidates."⁵ Business treated *die Wirtschaft* as if it were a monolithic unit that operated according to fixed and immutable principles.

In reality, of course, *die Wirtschaft* was racked by internal differences of a personal, functional, and structural nature. The two leaders of the electrotechnical industry, Siemens and Walther Rathenau, differed sharply in their conception of the role the state should play in the economy. The audacious entrepreneur and speculator, Hugo Stinnes, with his enormous holdings in coal, iron, steel, and shipping, was inclined to take a bolder view of the possibilities presented by the inflation than managers of privately capitalized concerns like the general director of the *Gute Hoffnungshütte*, Paul Reusch. The so-called finishing industries—the electrotechnical and machine-building industries—were in constant conflict with heavy industry over the price of raw materials. Finally, primitive motives of self-interest frequently caused conflicts between industrialists and prevented col-

⁴ See, e.g., a speech by Silverberg, Oct. 12, 1922, *Nachlass Silverberg*, No. 2, Bl. 5, *Bundesarchiv*, Koblenz.

⁵ In March 1924, for example, the mineowners were charged 2 marks, 50 pfennig per worker to pay for the support given by the *Bergbauverein*, Essen, to 40 friendly candidates from various parties. (See General Director Eugen Wiskott to the members of the *Bergbauverein*, Mar. 18, 1924, HA/GHH, No. 400106/83.) This, however, only amounted to 38,120 marks out of a total of 140,384 marks contributed by the *Gute Hoffnungshütte* to the *Reichstag* and *Landtag* campaigns of 1924. The firm was also charged 2.50 marks per worker by the corresponding organization of smelting plants, thus adding another 36,500 marks to its contributions. In addition, it provided 20,000 marks to Alfred Hugenberg (German Nationalist People's party), 20,000 marks to Julius Curtius and Johann Becker (German People's party), and 10,000 marks to Clemens Lammers (Center party) to be distributed to appropriate candidates in their parties. Finally 15,764 marks were given to local party organizations, mainly of the German People's party. (See the detailed correspondence, *ibid.*) This does not mean that the businessmen necessarily controlled these parties or even got their money's worth out of the candidates they supported.

lective action. The Klöckner brothers were willing to jeopardize their entrepreneurial souls by securing a subsidy from the *Reich* for the coal industry in 1925, despite Reusch's somber warnings that it would legitimize governmental interference. The Krupp firm willingly joined in the preparations for a collective lockout in the Ruhr in 1927-1928, but it proposed the exemption of certain of its plants that were obviously bringing in a profit.⁶

It is a gross error, however, to argue that the necessity for differentiation in treating big business precludes generalization or to assume that the most important elements of differentiation are provided by the individuality of various businessmen. Differentiation is, in fact, necessary because it helps us to generalize more accurately and to pinpoint where and how the political leadership of the Weimar Republic might have utilized the divisions within big business to protect the economy and society from some of the worst features of unrestrained capitalism. The collective performance of big business can be understood in terms of the structural development of society and the economy in Germany. As in the economy of all modern industrial societies of the twentieth century the greatest rate of growth in the German economy has taken place in the realm of capital goods rather than in consumer goods. Within the former, the relative growth of the electrical, chemical, and, to a lesser extent, mechanical engineering industries has been higher than that of the traditional heavy industrial group producing coal, iron, and steel.⁷ The war accelerated these developments, and the organization of industry in the Weimar Republic was largely determined by them. Inspiration for the founding of the *Reich* Association of German Industry came from a coalition of heavy industry (Stinnes, Alfred Hugenberg, Wilhelm Beuckenberg), the electrotechnical industry (Siemens, Rathenau, Hans von Raumer, Felix Deutsch), the machine-building industry (Ernst von Borsig and Anton von Rieppel), and the chemical industry (Rudolf Frank and Duisberg). The *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* was founded by the same groups at the same time, and both organizations were parts of a scheme to reconstitute the organizational structure of the economy along the lines of branch rather than regional organization. The triumph of the branch organization (*Fachverband*) was a severe blow to small- and medium-sized business whose strength lay in the regional groups nationally organized in the now-superseded League of German Industrialists. Similarly, the willingness of big business to settle all social and economic problems in collaboration with the unions and to accept industry-wide contracts and, temporarily at least, the eight-hour day also met with opposition from medium and small business. The latter groups, largely representing the consumer industries, had been most flexible in their dealings with organized labor before

⁶ On Krupp's attitude, see *ibid.*, No. 4001059/10; on the conflict with the Klöckners, see the correspondence between Reusch and Albert Vögler, *ibid.*, No. 400101290/37.

⁷ On the relative importance and growth of the various industrial sectors, see Walther G. Hoffmann, *Das Wachstum der deutschen Wirtschaft seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1965), 62 ff.

the war because of their inability to afford the old *guerre à outrance* waged by big business with the unions. Now they felt themselves unable to afford participation in the *entente cordiale* between big business and organized labor. In any case, the organizational changes of 1918-1919 marked the triumph of an expanded big business composed of the groups mentioned earlier, and the history of the *Reichsverband* may largely be written in terms of their interplay.⁸

Between 1918 and 1924 the moving spirit behind the *Reichsverband* and the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* was Stinnes; his stature in the business community and in the nation can be explained by the fact that the *expertise* and tenacity with which he pursued his interests made him a natural leader in a business community composed of men who moved with less self-confidence in emergencies. Stinnes' entire policy was based upon the inflation, and his famous program of vertical concentration and his willingness to collaborate with the unions can only be explained in these terms. While most of Stinnes' colleagues dreamed of a normal world where there would be a sound currency, lower prices, and lower wages, Stinnes conceived of a world that tied together vertical concentration, collaboration with the unions, inflation, and the recovery of Germany's world economic position:

If we have the coal we need, our country will be the natural land of quality production, on the one hand, because of our exchange situation, and, on the other hand, because of our wages, which, in view of our exchange situation, are the lowest in the world. . . . We must get together with the workers and give them what is proper; then we will get the prices we need.⁹

Whatever the reservations of conservatives like Reusch, Stinnes captured the spirit and the practice of the so-called inflation boom. A continuous attack on the eight-hour day in the name of maximum coal production was coupled with a general willingness to pay high wages in inflated currency. At the same time, systematic use of exchange dumping enabled Germany to recapture world markets, while domestic consumers were told that shortages would disappear if domestic prices were permitted to reach the level of prices on the world market. The inflation itself, so useful for purposes of speculation, liquidation of debts, and tax evasion, was declared insoluble so long as there was an unfavorable balance of trade and the reparations question was not settled in a business-like manner. A false theory of the causes of inflation combined with a convenient external scapegoat to keep the printing presses rolling.¹⁰

This situation was not, of course, conducive to socioeconomic harmony. The trade unions could not neglect the declining real wages of their members, and the finishing industries were bound to suffer from the scarcity and high prices

⁸ See the discussions, esp. in Feldman, "German Business between War and Revolution."

⁹ Comment by Stinnes at a discussion among the steel producers in Düsseldorf, July 16, 1919, HA/GHH, No. 3000030/12; see also the perceptive discussion of Stinnes in Felix Pinner, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsführer* (Charlottenburg, 1924), 11-30.

¹⁰ The best study of the inflation is Constantino Bresciani-Turroni, *The Economics of Inflation: A Study of Currency Depreciation in Post-War Germany* (London, 1953).

of raw materials. There were, consequently, dissension in the *Reichsverband* and a weakening of industry's collective effort to escape governmental controls because the finishing industries frequently combined with labor in the struggle against the pricing policies of heavy industry. Within heavy industry itself, the more conservative and less speculative groups in the cartels fought meeting after meeting for a more moderate price policy. Ultimately, however, Stinnes and his allies persuaded or compelled their opponents to follow their lead. By the fall of 1922 the hyperinflation had begun, and export profits evaporated as domestic prices began to exceed world market prices. The moderates in the cartels still made no impact. As one dolefully reported,

Efforts to apply the brake were a complete failure. . . . Anything resembling a higher point of view is no longer expressed in the negotiations, and it seems as if everyone sees the collapse coming and wants still to grab for himself whatever remains to be grabbed up. The enormous flow of money is there before everyone's eyes, but they refuse to draw the consequences. They speak so much and so passionately of losses that they finally believe it themselves.¹¹

When viewed in the context of the frequently overlooked hyperinflation of 1922, the occupation of the Ruhr and the passive resistance of 1923 become grim blessings in disguise for big business. The murder of the mark by the ill-conceived monetary and economic policies of the *Reichsbank*, the government, and the business community could be more or less covered up by a smoke screen of national resistance. Big business used the termination of passive resistance to eliminate many of the social and economic achievements of the Revolution. Agreements with the occupation authorities provided a convenient excuse for the unilateral abrogation of the eight-hour day and a revival of much of the prewar tone in labor-management relations. As one firm delicately declared to its workers, "We must return to productive work under all circumstances, and the previous *Schlamperei* must end."¹²

It would be erroneous, however, to portray the period between 1924 and 1928 as a golden age for big business. There was a stabilization crisis in the spring and early summer of 1924, and a major readjustment crisis occurred between the fall of 1925 and the fall of 1926. The expansion that followed, caused in part by internal banking policies and a good harvest and in part by the great English coal strike of 1926, lasted until the end of 1927. A slackening, visible throughout 1928, terminated in a recession. Despite the continued "prosperity" in 1928-1929 there was much pessimism in big business circles, and that year saw the severest labor conflicts since the Revolution.¹³

These conflicts were deliberately instigated by an important, powerful, and politically active group of big businessmen led by Director Reusch of the *Gute*

¹¹ Director Heinrich Klemme of the *Gute Hoffnungshütte* in a report on the negotiations in the *Stahlwerksverband*, Sept. 11, 1922, HA/GHH, No. 3000035/3.

¹² See the discussion with the representatives of the workers of the *Gute Hoffnungshütte*, Dec. 27, 1923, *ibid.*, No. 300141/16.

¹³ Bresciani-Turroni, *Economics of Inflation*, 405-36.

Hoffnungshütte and Director Albert Vögler of the *Vereinigte Stahlwerke*. They were convinced that prosperity was fragile, and they had great fears for the success of the rationalization program which had been based on short-term foreign loans. Rationalization had necessarily magnified the importance of overhead costs in the determination of prices, and Reusch and Vögler were prone to lay the entire blame for what they regarded as a profitless prosperity upon high taxes to support immoderate governmental expenditures and to pay the costs of social policies that were viewed as a standing insult to *die Wirtschaft*. The Unemployment Insurance Law of 1927, the Hours of Work Law of the same year, and the continuous interference of the government in labor-industry negotiations through the device of making arbitration decisions binding produced increasing desperation and constant accusations that the Labor Ministry was making it impossible for German industry to build up its capital reserves.¹⁴

The pessimism and antiunion attitude of Reusch and Vögler were not universally shared in big business circles. Yet, by employing his powerful position as head of the *Langnamverein* and Northwest Group of the Association of German Iron and Steel Industrialists, Reusch was able to ostracize and virtually isolate Peter Klöckner in 1926 for making an optimistic speech about the economy, and he organized the successful opposition against Silverberg's Dresden speech to the *Reichsverband* of the same year, which advocated a restoration of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft*. Using their powerful foothold in the finishing industries, Reusch and Vögler did much to ensure the appointment of leaders friendly to heavy industry in the machine-building industry organization. In 1927 Reusch established his famous *Ruhrlade*, a group of twelve select industrialists who met monthly to discuss common problems and to frame general policies for industry. In August 1927 Reusch and Vögler began to organize a protective association, composed of various firms in the Ruhr, in preparation for the labor conflicts that marked much of the industrial history of 1927–1928 and that culminated in the great lockout at the end of 1928. The lockout was a partially successful effort to break the governmental system of making arbitration decisions binding. Thus, on the eve of the Great Depression, but in the midst of the supposed economic prosperity of 1927–1928 and the sociopolitical stabilization signalized by the Great Weimar Coalition government created in May 1928, heavy industry launched a powerful offensive against the social system of the Weimar Republic. This offensive was not limited to economic battles in the Ruhr; it also renewed efforts to influence political parties and to encourage businessmen to play a more open political role, and in a very vigorous campaign through the League for the Renewal of the *Reich*, founded in 1926 by Reusch, Robert Bosch, and other leading businessmen, it attempted to reform the Constitution of the *Reich*.¹⁵

How, finally, are we to evaluate the relationship between the socioeconomic

¹⁴ See the correspondence and memorandums of September 1928 in HA/GHH, No. 400127/6.

¹⁵ The Paul Reusch Papers, *ibid.*, contain a wealth of material on these problems.

policies of big business and its political behavior in the Weimar Republic? It is clear that, despite the gains made by many businessmen in the inflation and in the subsequent rationalization of the German industrial plant, there was much for them to worry about: capitalization by means of short-term foreign loans was dangerous; the reparations problem had been alleviated, but not solved by the Dawes plan; the government, particularly on the local level, wasted enormous sums of money on economically dubious expenditures such as theaters and public baths; the administrative and fiscal structure of the *Reich* was in need of overhaul; the social policies of the Labor Ministry were politically motivated much of the time and were not always economically sound. Furthermore, it is clear from hindsight that German industry was undergoing a particularly difficult phase of development under very adverse conditions. The crisis in coal mining and the structural problems of heavy industry, so obvious today, were then making themselves felt for the first time. Most economists would also agree that industry had not been granted enough time to enjoy the benefits of rationalization.¹⁶

It is well to bear in mind, however, that Weimar, for good or ill, gave German big business much room to decide its own fate.¹⁷ The policies pursued by business during the inflation were ill-advised and often selfish, and it is clear that the collapse of the Stinnes empire and of other hodgepodge creations of the inflation was richly deserved. Weimar's Cartel Law of 1923 was pitifully weak, and, if anything, the Weimar governments assisted German industry to build up a complex structure of domestic and international cartel arrangements made between 1924 and 1926. The exceptionally effective role played by lobbyists like Raumer in the *Reichstag*, the relatively smooth coordination of heavy industry and the finishing industries in making it possible for the *Vereinigte Stahlwerke* and other giant enterprises to be created without paying corporation taxes,¹⁸ and the passage of tariff laws and international agreements of these years demonstrate that industry was anything but powerless in determining its own structure and policies. The performance of these cartels and enterprises shows that the Labor Ministry alone was not responsible for the profitless prosperity of the late 1920's. As one of the directors of the cartel candidly commented to his colleagues at a meeting in 1931,

We ought not to forget the other side. In 1926, 1927, and 1928 we produced ourselves to exhaustion, but we only benefited quantitatively from the boom, not in terms of

¹⁶ See esp. Robert Brady, *The Rationalization Movement in German Industry: A Study in the Evolution of Economic Planning* (Berkeley, Calif., 1933); see also Wolfram Fischer and Peter Czada, "Twentieth Century Changes in the Structure of German Industry," in the forthcoming *Festschrift* for Rosenberg.

¹⁷ This tends to be overlooked in the recently published article by Klaus Rössler, "Unternehmer in der Weimarer Republik," *Tradition: Zeitschrift für Firmen-Geschichte und Unternehmer-Biographie*, XIII (Oct. 1968), 217-40.

¹⁸ See the 1925 correspondence between J. J. Hasslacher and Raumer in the *Rhein Stahl Archiv*, No. 170.

prices. If we had had a more flexible price system at that time, it would have gone better with us and we would have made money.¹⁹

Such confessions were not, of course, for public consumption, and *die Wirtschaft* persisted in its pretentious pose of infallibility. The critical point, however, is that the people who ruled Weimar Germany made this possible because they themselves were victims of the myth that big business had the answers. The Social Democrats, upon whose shoulders fell above all the task of presenting alternatives, were lacking in economic ideas of their own and actually accepted many of the ideas and practices of big business. The governments did almost nothing to play upon the divisions within big business or upon its sociopolitical isolation. Big business was never compelled to pay the price of its inability to establish a lasting alliance with labor, to restore its prewar union with agriculture, or to win back medium-sized and small business which suffered from its inflationary practices and from the side effects of its brutal battles with labor in the late 1920's. It was left free to exert enormous social and economic power while undermining the prestige of the republic through constant criticism. Like the bureaucracy and the army, which retreated into a mystical service of *der Staat*, big businessmen expressed their indifference or hostility to the republic by claiming service to the abstraction they called *die Wirtschaft*. That they were permitted to do so demonstrates not that the leaders of the Weimar Republic failed to recognize the primacy of economics but rather that they failed to realize the primacy of politics

¹⁹ See the discussion among the iron and steel industrialists of Sept. 10, 1931, HA/GHH, No. 4001012003/19.

Big Business and the Rise of Hitler

HENRY ASHBY TURNER, JR.

DID German big business support Adolf Hitler's climb to power? A quarter of a century after the demise of the Third *Reich*, this remains one of the major unresolved questions about its inception. For Marxists, or at least those who adhere to the Moscow line, the answer to this question has never been a problem. From the outset, they have viewed Nazism as a manifestation of "monopoly capitalism" and the Nazis as tools of big business.¹ Among non-Marxists there has been no such unanimity. Some have in large measure agreed with the Marxist interpretation;² others have rejected it.³ Most have adopted a cautious middle position, asserting that some capitalists aided the Nazis but avoiding any precise analysis of the extent or effectiveness of that aid.⁴ This wide range of views is in part clearly the product of ideological differences. But another factor has been the scanty, sometimes ambiguous, and frequently dubious nature of the evidence on which all previous studies of the subject rest. Few aspects of the history of Na-

► Mr. Turner, an associate professor at Yale University, has written *Stresemann and the Politics of the Weimar Republic* (Princeton, N. J., 1963). He is chiefly interested in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Germany, and he obtained his Ph.D. from Princeton University in 1960, having worked under Gordon A. Craig.

¹ According to the thesis that was long accepted in Communist circles, National Socialism was built up and installed in power by a conspiracy of the "monopoly capitalists" (viewed as a virtually monolithic group) and the reactionary *Junker*, whose aim was to suppress the working class and to launch an imperialist war. (See, e.g., Albert Norden, *Lehren deutscher Geschichte: Zur politischen Rolle des Finanzkapitals und der Junker* [East Berlin, 1947].) Recently, more complex and differentiated interpretations have begun to appear, apparently as a result of the relaxation of ideological controls following Stalin's death. These studies view the rise of Hitler as the product of "contradictions" within the capitalist system that pit rival groups of "monopoly capitalists" against each other in a struggle for power. According to these interpretations, which are not heavily dependent upon evidence and thus vary considerably in particulars, the political events that brought Hitler to office were mere surface expressions of behind-the-scenes power struggles in the less visible, but nevertheless decisive, economic sphere. (See, e.g., Isakhar M. Faingar, *Die Entwicklung des deutschen Monopolkapitals* [East Berlin, 1959], a translation of a Soviet book first published in 1958; Eberhard Czichon, *Wer verhalf Hitler zur Macht? Zum Anteil der deutschen Industrie an der Zerstörung der Weimarer Republik* [Cologne, 1967], a book by an East German writer; Kurt Gossweiler, "Die Rolle des Monopolkapitals bei der Herbeiführung der Röhm-Affäre," doctoral dissertation, Humboldt University, 1963.)

² See George W. F. Hallgarten, *Hitler, Reichswehr und Industrie: Zur Geschichte der Jahre 1918-1933* (Frankfurt a.M., 1955); Arthur Schweitzer, *Big Business in the Third Reich* (Bloomington, Ind., 1964); Franz Neumann, *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism* (New York, 1942), the work of an independent scholar of Marxist background.

³ Some examples are August Heinrichsbauer, *Schwerindustrie und Politik* (Essen, 1948); Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics* (New York, 1960); Louis P. Lochner, *Tycoons and Tyrant: German Industry from Hitler to Adenauer* (Chicago, 1954); Edward N. Peterson, *Hjalmar Schacht: For and against Hitler* (Boston, 1954).

⁴ See Alan Bullock, *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny* (London, 1952); Karl Dietrich Bracher, *Die Auflösung der Weimarer Republik: Eine Studie zum Problem des Machtverfalls in der Demokratie* (2d ed., Stuttgart, 1957); S. William Halperin, *Germany Tried Democracy: A Political History of the Reich from 1918 to 1933* (New York, 1946); Helmut Heiber, *Die Republik von Weimar* (Munich, 1966); and William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany* (New York, 1959).

tional Socialism have, in fact, been so inadequately researched. Now that new documentation is available, the time has come for another look at the problem.

None of the new evidence contradicts the widespread impression that German big businessmen were unenthusiastic about the Weimar Republic. Most were not, as is often assumed, unreconstructed monarchists; they displayed, on the whole, a surprising indifference to governmental forms. What offended them about the new state was its adoption of costly welfare measures, its introduction of compulsory arbitration in disputes between labor and management, and, most particularly, the influence it accorded to the prolabor Social Democratic party, which was most pronounced in the government of the largest federal state, Prussia. Despite abundant objective evidence that the republic, at least during its years of prosperity, provided generally favorable conditions for business enterprise, Germany's business leaders continued to eye it with misgiving. Their attitude had much in common with that of the army: they, too, refused to commit themselves to the new state, regarding it as a potentially transitory phenomenon, while viewing themselves as the guardians of something of more permanent value to the nation—in their case, *die Wirtschaft*, the industrial sector of the economy.⁵

In spite of its reserved attitude toward the new German state, big business was nevertheless politicized by the changes resulting from the Revolution of 1918. Whereas in the Empire its leaders had been able to influence governmental policy without wholesale commitment to partisan politics, in the republic they found it necessary to assume a more active political role.⁶ In far greater numbers than in the Empire, they joined the ranks of the *bürgerlich*, or non-socialist, parties and sought places in the Parliaments for themselves or their spokesmen.⁷ For most big businessmen, politics was more a matter of interests than of ideology.⁸ When they took the trouble to describe their political outlook, the words that reoccurred with greatest frequency were "national" and "liberal." The term "liberal" has always been problematical in German usage, but in business circles of this period it was more so than usual, as was revealed by one businessman who, writing to an acquaintance, explained: "As you well know, I have always been liberal, in the sense of Kant and Frederick the Great."⁹

⁵ This theme runs through the speeches of big businessmen during the entire republican period. Many of these can be found in the *Veröffentlichungen* of the national association of industry, the *Reichsverband der Deutschen Industrie* (Berlin, 1919-32).

⁶ Two recent studies of the political role of big business in the Empire are Lamar Cecil, *Albert Ballin: Business and Politics in Imperial Germany, 1888-1918* (Princeton, N. J., 1967); and Hans Jaeger, *Unternehmer in der deutschen Politik (1890-1918)* (Bonn, 1967).

⁷ See Ingolf Liesebach, "Der Wandel der politischen Führungsschicht der deutschen Industrie von 1918 bis 1945," doctoral dissertation, University of Basel, 1957.

⁸ On February 18, 1919, Albert Vögler, a prominent figure in the steel industry who had been elected to the National Assembly as a delegate of the German People's party, caused considerable consternation among his fellow deputies by announcing in his maiden speech to the chamber: "I speak here as the representative of an industry. . . ." (*Verhandlungen der verfassunggebenden deutschen Nationalversammlung*, CCCXXVI, 137.) Thereafter, the parliamentary spokesmen of big business tended to be more discreet in their public statements.

⁹ Karl Zell, member of the *Vorstand* of *Kronprinz A.G. für Metallindustrie*, to Witkugel, Apr. 27,

Although big business entered the politics of the republic, it never found a political home there. From the beginning, its spokesmen were scattered among the four principal nonsocialist parties, the Democratic party, the Catholic Center party, the German People's party, and the German National People's party. This dispersal divided and thus weakened the business leaders politically. Within each party they had to compete with numerous other pressure groups whose interests rarely coincided with their own and who could usually deliver far more votes. Sometimes the spokesmen of big business succeeded in gaining the backing of their parties, but more often they were defeated or forced to settle for less than they regarded as acceptable.¹⁰ Contrary to the belief of the Marxists, economic power did not translate readily into political power in the Weimar Republic. And nowhere was this recognized more acutely than in big business circles.

The political impotence of money was strikingly demonstrated by the fate of a project that enjoyed wide support from big business during the last years of the republic. Having grown impatient with the multiplicity of parties with which they had to deal, a number of influential businessmen proposed the formation of a single, united nonsocialist party, a *bürgerliche Einheitspartei*, as it was generally labeled.¹¹ The plan called for such an organization to absorb the squabbling older parties, sweep away their superfluous and anachronistic ideological differences, and erect an impregnable barrier to Marxism. It was confidently expected, moreover, that in such a united party the interests of *die Wirtschaft* would at last receive their due. Much enthusiasm developed for this plan in the ranks of big business during the period 1930–1932. But although considerable pressure was exerted on the politicians, including the withholding of financial contributions during election campaigns, nothing came of the project. Despite a barrage of importunities, threats, and punitive measures, the existing parties tenaciously defended their independence and the politicians their party posts. Again, the limits to the political utility of economic power had been revealed. The result was further disillusionment in big business circles, not only with the parties but with the democratic, parliamentary system as a whole—a disillusionment that deepened as a succession of unstable cabinets struggled unsuccessfully to cope with the Great Depression.

1933, Papers of the German People's party (*Deutsche Volkspartei*), No. 151, *Deutsches Zentralarchiv*, Potsdam.

¹⁰ A striking example of this was the adoption in 1927 of national laws regulating the length of the industrial workday and establishing an unemployment insurance program despite the opposition of big business and despite the fact that the nonsocialist parties commanded a clear majority in the *Reichstag* and controlled the cabinet.

¹¹ There is much material on the project in the Paul Reusch Papers, *Historisches Archiv, Gute Hoffnungshütte*, Oberhausen; he was one of the most politically active of the Ruhr industrialists. Another source of information is the Fritz Klein Papers, which are in the possession of Klein's son, an East German historian, who kindly made them available to me. Klein was the editor of the Berlin newspaper *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* during the last years of the republic, when it was controlled by a consortium of big businessmen. (See also Friedrich Glum, *Zwischen Wissenschaft, Wirtschaft und Politik: Erlebtes und Erdachtes in vier Reichen* [Bonn, 1964], 395–407.)

Crucial to the subject of this inquiry is the question of whether the unmistakably mounting discontent of big business led it to support Hitler and his movement during the last phases of the republic. The answer is, on the whole, no. The qualification is necessary because, as is well known, certain big businessmen, such as Fritz Thyssen, heir to one of the great steel enterprises of the Ruhr, did give money to the Nazis. If, however, one examines the political record of big business, it quickly becomes evident that these pro-Nazis are conspicuous precisely because they were exceptions. The failure to recognize this basic fact has led to great exaggeration of their importance, as has the reliance on untrustworthy sources, such as *I Paid Hitler*, a book published over the name of Thyssen, but not actually written by him.¹²

A number of legends about industrial support for the Nazis have been perpetuated by previous literature and, largely by virtue of repetition, have come to be accepted as fact. According to one of these legends, large sums of money flowed to the Nazis through the hands of Alfred Hugenberg, the reactionary press lord who became head of the Right-wing German National People's party in 1928.¹³ This allegation probably derives from Hugenberg's role in the campaign against the Young plan in 1929. As one of the organizations supporting that campaign, the Nazi party did receive a share of the funds that Hugenberg helped to raise at the time.¹⁴ There is not a trace of documentary evidence, however, that any of Hugenberg's resources were thereafter diverted to the Nazis.¹⁵ Indeed, this seems highly unlikely: as the leader of a party that was itself beset by financial problems, Hugenberg had little motive to share any funds he received from big business, least of all with a party that was taking votes away from his own.¹⁶ The amount of big business money at Hugenberg's disposal has, in any event, been

¹² The book was prepared by a ghost writer, Emery Reves, on the basis of interviews with Thyssen in France during the spring of 1940, after the latter had fled Germany and denounced Hitler. Some of the draft chapters (in French) were seen and approved by Thyssen, but work on the book was interrupted by the break-through of the German armies on the western front in June 1940. Thyssen remained in France and was turned over to the Nazis by the Vichy regime for return to Germany, where he was imprisoned throughout the war. Reves escaped from France and finished the book, publishing it in English translation in New York and London in the autumn of 1941 [my citations will be to the New York edition]. Among the chapters not seen by Thyssen prior to publication were those treating his financial relations with the Nazis. My examination of the stenographic records of the interviews with Thyssen and the original draft chapters (still in the possession of Reves) has established that the book contains numerous spurious and inaccurate statements, even in the chapters approved by Thyssen.

¹³ This view was first widely circulated by the journalist Konrad Heiden in *Adolf Hitler: Das Zeitalter der Verantwortungslosigkeit* (2 vols., Zürich, 1936-37), I, 268-72. Since then it has been repeated in many other studies of Hitler's rise, including the most recent book by Karl Dietrich Bracher, *Die deutsche Diktatur: Entstehung, Struktur, Folgen des Nationalsozialismus* (Cologne, 1969), 176.

¹⁴ There is documentation on the finances of the plebiscite against the Young plan in two collections in the *Deutsches Zentralarchiv*, Potsdam: *Alldeutscher Verband*, No. 501; *Stahlhelm*, No. 25.

¹⁵ The only evidence ever cited to support the allegations about Hugenberg's aid to Hitler is a passage in Thyssen, *I Paid Hitler*, 102-103. But as Bullock has observed (*Hitler*, 157), that passage is unclear as to when the alleged financing of Hitler took place. Since the passage was not written by Thyssen or even seen by him prior to publication, there are, moreover, grounds for doubting its authenticity. (See note 12, above.)

¹⁶ See the papers of the German National People's party, *Deutsches Zentralarchiv*, Potsdam; see also Reusch Papers; Klein Papers.

grossly exaggerated. Contrary to the widespread belief that he was one of the foremost spokesmen of big business throughout the republican period, most of the industrial backers of his party had opposed his election as its chairman in 1928, rejecting him as too inflexible, too provocative, and too highhanded for their tastes.¹⁷ In the summer of 1930 a large segment of his party's industrial wing took issue with his opposition to Heinrich Brüning's cabinet and seceded to join the new Conservative People's party.¹⁸ Even among those who did not take that step, there was a strong movement to replace Hugenberg with a more moderate man.¹⁹ As a result, Hugenberg, who had enjoyed wide support from big business during the first decade of the republic, was forced, during its last years, to rely increasingly upon the backing of agricultural interests.²⁰

Another persistent legend concerns Emil Kirdorf, long universally regarded as a kind of industrial *alter Kämpfer*.²¹ Kirdorf, an octogenarian survivor of the beginning phase of German heavy industry in the 1870's, was the first really noteworthy business figure to join the Nazi party, entering in 1927. But despite the tributes lavished upon him by Hitler and the party press during the Third Reich, he was far from a loyal Nazi. In 1928, only a little over a year after joining the party, Kirdorf resigned in anger, a fact that the Nazis long succeeded in concealing from historians.²² Eventually, it is true, he rejoined the party, but only in 1934, when on personal orders from Hitler Kirdorf's records were rewritten to make his membership seem uninterrupted. But during the crucial years 1929-1933 Kirdorf was a supporter of the German National People's party, not the Nazi party. Nor is there any evidence that Kirdorf contributed appreciable sums to the Nazis during the struggle for power. Since he had retired from all active business posts even before joining the party for the first time in 1927,

¹⁷ There is evidence of this opposition in the papers of Hugenberg's predecessor as party chairman, Count Kuno von Westarp, now in the possession of his family in Gärtringen, West Germany; in the Reusch Papers; and in the files of the *Verein Deutscher Eisen- und Stahlindustrieller*, R 13 I/1064, 1065, *Bundesarchiv*, Koblenz; see also Manfred Dörr, "Die Deutschnationale Volkspartei 1925 bis 1928," doctoral dissertation, University of Marburg, 1964, 448, n. 131.

¹⁸ On the revolt against Hugenberg in 1930, see the statement circulated in April by the organization of industrial representatives in the German National People's party, the text of which appears in the privately printed memoirs of Emil Kirdorf, *Erinnerungen, 1847-1930*, copy in the Emil Kirdorf Papers, now at the *Gelsenkirchener Bergwerks-A.G.*, Essen, 226-33.

¹⁹ Especially active in this effort was Tilo von Wilmowsky, brother-in-law and close adviser of Gustav Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach as well as an influential figure in industrial circles in his own right. Among those considered as replacements for Hugenberg were Carl Goerdeler and Hjalmar Schacht. Documentation can be found in the Gustav Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach Papers, *Krupp-Archiv*, Villa Hügel, Essen; and in the Reusch Papers.

²⁰ By the time Hugenberg was appointed a minister by Hitler in 1933, with responsibility for both agricultural and economic affairs, he clearly functioned as a spokesman of the agricultural interests and thus as an opponent of industry, especially on the question of tariff policy which sharply divided the two at that time. (Dieter Petzina, "Hauptprobleme der deutschen Wirtschaftspolitik 1932/33," *Vierteljahrshäfte für Zeitgeschichte*, XV [Jan. 1967], 45-55.)

²¹ See Bracher, *Auflösung*, 292, 334; Bullock, *Hitler*, 133; Czichon, *Wer verhalf Hitler, passim*; Konrad Heiden, *Der Fuehrer* (Boston, 1944), 340-42, 356; Hallgarten, *Hitler, Reichswehr und Industrie, passim*; Lochner, *Tycoons and Tyrant*, 97-98; Neumann, *Behemoth*, 360; Gerhard Schulz, in K. D. Bracher *et al.*, *Die nationalsozialistische Machtergreifung* (Cologne, 1960), 394.

²² I have dealt in greater detail with this and other aspects of the case of Kirdorf in "Emil Kirdorf and the Nazi Party," *Central European History*, I (Dec. 1968), 324-44.

he had no access to corporate or associational funds.²³ Anything he gave had to come from his own pocket, and he was not known as a man who spent his money either gladly or lavishly. Kirdorf's reputation as a patron of National Socialism rests not on documented facts but on a myth created in large measure by the Nazis themselves following his re-entry into the party, when they appropriated the aged industrialist as a symbol of respectability.

The reason for Kirdorf's resignation from the party is indicative of the attitude of most big businessmen toward National Socialism in the years before Hitler achieved power. Kirdorf did not withdraw because the Nazis were anti-democratic, aggressively chauvinistic, or anti-Semitic (even though he, like most business leaders, was himself not an anti-Semite). What drove him out of the party was the social and economic radicalism of the Left-wing Nazis. Like millions of other Germans of middle-class background, including big businessmen, Kirdorf was attracted to Nazism by its assertive nationalism and its implacable hostility toward Marxism, but like most big businessmen, he was at the same time repelled by the fear that the National Socialists might eventually live up to their name by turning out to be socialists of some kind. Hitler, who began earnestly to court the business community in 1926, went to great pains to allay this fear. In 1927, at the request of Kirdorf, he wrote a pamphlet that was secretly printed and then distributed in business circles by the old industrialist.²⁴ In the pamphlet, as in his speech before the Düsseldorf *Industrie-Klub* in January 1932, Hitler sought to indicate that there was no need to fear socialism from his party. It is safe to assume that he said much the same thing in his numerous other meetings with representatives of big business.²⁵ His efforts, however, were repeatedly compromised, as in the case of Kirdorf, by the radical noises emanating from the Left Wing of the Nazi party.²⁶

²³ According to one legend still very much an article of faith in East German historical circles, Kirdorf in 1931 prevailed upon the bituminous coal cartel (*Rheinisch-Westfälisches Kohlensyndikat*) to impose a levy of five (in some versions fifty) pfennigs on each ton of coal sold, the proceeds to go to the Nazis. (See Czichon, *Wer verhalf Hitler*, 19.) No documentary evidence has ever been introduced to support this allegation. It was challenged from a number of quarters when it first appeared in the postwar German press in 1947. (A collection of this material is located in the papers of the de-Nazification trial of Fritz Thyssen, *Hauptakte*, 283-86, *Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv*, Wiesbaden.) Overlooked by all who have repeated the allegation is the fact that Kirdorf's active role in the coal cartel had come to an end in April 1925. (Walter Bacmeister, *Emil Kirdorf Der Mann. Sein Werk* [2d ed., Essen (1936)], 100.)

²⁴ See Henry Ashby Turner, Jr., "Hitler's Secret Pamphlet for Industrialists, 1927," *Journal of Modern History*, XL (Sept. 1968), 348-74.

²⁵ Similar statements by Hitler appear in the recently discovered stenographic record of two conversations he had in the spring of 1931 with a business-oriented newspaper editor. (Edouard Calic, *Ohne Maske: Hitler-Breitung Geheimgespräche 1931* [Frankfurt a.M., 1968], 35-36.)

²⁶ Instances of this are too numerous to recount in full, but two more examples can be cited. In February 1926 Hitler delivered a lengthy speech before the Hamburg *Nationalklub von 1919*. (See Werner Jochmann, *Im Kampf um die Macht: Hitlers Rede vor dem Hamburger Nationalklub von 1919* [Frankfurt a.M., 1960].) Three years later a Nazi spokesman in Hamburg reported that the speech was still remembered favorably in business circles but that there was general alienation from the Nazi party as a consequence of the radical stance of the local leadership and the party's *Revolverpresse*. (Friedrich Bucher to Hitler, July 20, 1929, *Reichsleitung, Personalakte Hüttmann*, Berlin Document Center.) During the early part of 1932, Hitler sought to cultivate allies in big business circles, addressing industrial groups and instigating, through his adviser Wilhelm Keppler, the formation of an advisory group of businessmen, the later *Freundeskreis*. The effects of these efforts were largely un-

As a consequence, most of the political money of big business went, throughout the last years of the republic, to the conservative opponents of the Nazis.²⁷ In the presidential campaign of 1932 most of the business community backed Paul von Hindenburg against Hitler, despite the Nazi leader's blatant appeal for support in his *Industrie-Klub* speech.²⁸ In the two *Reichstag* elections of 1932, big business was overwhelmingly behind the bloc of parties that supported the cabinet of Franz von Papen, the first government since the Revolution of 1918 to arouse enthusiasm in business circles.²⁹ If money could have purchased political power, the republic would have been succeeded by Papen's *Neuer Staat*, not by Hitler's *Drittes Reich*. But the effort to transform marks into votes proved a crushing failure.

There were, to be sure, exceptions to this pattern. Certain big businessmen did give money to the Nazis, particularly after the 1930 *Reichstag* election showed them to be a major political factor. Some of these contributions can best be described, however, as political insurance premiums. This was clearly the case, for example, with Friedrich Flick, a parvenu intruder into the ranks of the Ruhr industrialists, who by the early 1930's had managed to secure a dominant position in the country's largest steel-producing firm, the United Steel Works (*Vereinigte Stahlwerke*). Flick's speculative transactions and his questionable dealings with the Brüning cabinet left him vulnerable to attacks from the press

done, however, by a campaign pamphlet for the summer *Reichstag* election, *Wirtschaftliches Sofortprogramm der N.S.D.A.P.* (Munich, 1932), which alarmed businessmen, by virtue of its anticapitalist slogans and its call for deficit spending and governmental controls aimed at ending unemployment. In September Hitler informed leading business circles through Schacht that distribution of the pamphlet had been stopped and that the remaining copies had been destroyed, but much damage had already been done by that time. (Schacht to Reusch, Sept. 12, 1932, No. 400101290/33, Reusch Papers.)

²⁷ In his conversation with the journalist Richard Breiting in May 1931, Hitler boasted that the Nazi party already enjoyed the financial backing of "Krupp, Schröder and others from big industry." (Calic, *Ohne Maske*, 27.) Only a few pages later, however, he told of his plans to win over big business, revealing that he regarded this as a task yet to be accomplished. (*Ibid.*, 28-29, 35, 37-38.) Further doubt is cast on the accuracy of Hitler's claim by the well-known coolness of Gustav Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach toward National Socialism prior to Hitler's appointment as Chancellor, an attitude recognized by authors of the most varied persuasions and confirmed by Krupp's private correspondence in the Krupp Papers. (See Czichon, *Wer verhalf Hitler*, 53; Hallgarten, *Hitler, Reichswehr und Industrie*, 117; Lochner, *Tycoons and Tyrant*, 139.) Baron Kurt von Schroeder (to whom the name "Schröder" apparently refers) may well have been aiding the Nazis by 1931, but he was an official of a medium-sized bank in a provincial city (Cologne), not a figure in "big industry" or even a confidant of the leading industrial circles. (See note 47, below.)

²⁸ This is conceded even by Hallgarten. (*Hitler, Reichswehr und Industrie*, 106.) There is documentation on the fund-raising campaign in the papers of the industrialist who headed it, Carl Duisberg, cofounder of *I. G. Farben* and chairman of its board of overseers and its administrative council. (*Autographen-Sammlung von Dr. Carl Duisberg, Werksarchiv, Farbenfabrik Bayer, Leverkusen*.)

²⁹ There is abundant documentation to this effect in the Klein Papers, Krupp Papers, and Reusch Papers, as well as in the informative diary of Hans Schäffer, State Secretary in the Ministry of Finance, now located in the archive of the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte*, Munich. See also Hans Radandt, "Freie Wahlen und Monopolkapital," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, IX (No. 6, 1961), 1321-22. This East German publication provides details about a fund-raising meeting of industrialists in October 1932, but neglects to mention the use for which the funds were intended, thus leaving the impression they might have been destined for the Nazis. A report on the same meeting in the Reusch Papers makes clear, however, that the money raised would go to the Papen bloc, not to the Nazis. (Memo by Martin Blank, Oct. 19, 1932, No. 4001012024/10, Reusch Papers.)

and apprehensive about the attitude of future cabinets toward his enterprises.³⁰ His solution was to spread his political money across the political spectrum, from the liberal and Catholic parties to the Nazi party. Flick may be a deplorable example of the politically amoral capitalist, but he was by no means an enthusiastic supporter of National Socialism prior to 1933. Nor is there any indication that he was especially generous toward the Nazis. According to the records he produced at his war crimes trial in Nuremberg, the Nazis received little more than token contributions in comparison to the sums that went to their opponents.³¹

The political activities of the *I. G. Farben* chemical trust were characterized by much the same pattern as those of Flick. From its formation in 1925, the company maintained contact with all the nonsocialist parties and made financial contributions to them. According to the postwar accounts of one official of the trust, the Nazis were added to the list in 1932. That same official estimated the total contributions for one of the *Reichstag* election campaigns of 1932 (it is not clear whether he was referring to the July or November elections) at approximately 200,000 to 300,000 marks. Of this, he reported, no more than 10 to 15 per cent had gone to the Nazis.³² *I. G. Farben*, like Flick, had special reason to be concerned about maintaining the good will of the political parties. In its case, this concern arose from heavy investments in elaborate processes designed to yield high-grade synthetic gasoline. Since the costs of production were initially high, the company could hope to break into the domestic market only if a protective tariff were imposed on oil imports. Such a tariff had been put into effect by the Brüning cabinet and maintained by the Papen regime, but in view of Germany's obviously chronic political instability, the tariff question remained a source of considerable anxiety to the leadership of the firm. When attacks on *Farben* appeared in the Nazi press in 1932, concern developed about the attitude of what was by then the country's strongest political party. Two minor officials were, accordingly, sent to Munich in the autumn of 1932 to sound out Hitler on the project.³³ Much has been made of this episode by some writers, who have in-

³⁰ This emerged clearly from the testimony and documentary evidence in the Flick trial at Nuremberg in 1947. (See the published excerpts in Nuernberg Military Tribunals, *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10* [15 vols., Washington, D.C., 1949-53], VI, *passim*.) Flick was particularly vulnerable as a result of the purchase of his United Steel Works stock by the *Reich* in May 1932 at a price far above the market value. Hallgarten has alleged, although with no supporting evidence, that this "Gelsenkirchen Deal" forged a link in the summer of 1932 between the steel industry and the Nazi party by virtue of the Nazis' having suppressed a projected parliamentary investigation of the transaction. (Hallgarten, *Hitler, Reichswehr und Industrie*, 113.) Hallgarten's allegation has, however, been effectively refuted by an East German scholar. (Gerhard Volkland, "Hintergründe und politischen Auswirkungen der Gelsenkirchen-Affäre im Jahre 1932," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, XI [No. 2, 1963], 312-13.)

³¹ For a summary, see *Trials of War Criminals*, VI, 382-83. The full documentation can be found in Record Group 238 (World War II War Crimes Records), Case 5, Dokumentenbuch Flick I, National Archives [hereafter cited as NA].

³² See the affidavits of Max Ilgner, Microcopy T-301 (Records of the Office of the U.S. Chief Counsel for War Crimes, Nuremberg, Military Tribunals, Relating to Nazi Industrialists), roll 13/NI-1293, *ibid.*; T-301/55/NI-7082, *ibid.*

³³ See *Trials of War Criminals*, VII, 536-54. The two young emissaries were Heinrich Bütefisch, a technical expert, and Heinrich Gattineau, a public relations specialist who had studied with Professor Karl Haushofer at the University of Munich and was thus acquainted with Rudolf Hess, who arranged the meeting.

ferred that it produced a deal that brought *Farben* behind the National Socialist movement at a crucial time.³⁴ From all available evidence, however, the firm's representatives came away with only vague assurances from Hitler that he would halt the attacks in the party press.³⁵ The Nazis apparently received at most the small share of the relatively modest political funds described above, although even this may, in view of the ambiguity of the evidence, have been granted earlier, at the time of the summer election campaign, and thus quite independently of the Munich meeting with Hitler. There is, in any case, no evidence that the chemical combine wanted a Nazi triumph or threw its financial support decisively to National Socialism. All indications are, in fact, that the leaders of *Farben*, acutely aware of their firm's dependence on exports, were apprehensive at the prospect of a take-over of the government by a party that preached economic autarky.³⁶

As in the cases of Flick and *I. G. Farben*, most of the big business money that found its way to the Nazis was not given simply, or even primarily, with the aim of bringing them to power. Whereas Flick and *Farben* were seeking to buy political insurance against the eventuality of a Nazi capture of the government, others were attempting to alter the nature of the Nazi movement. This they hoped to accomplish by giving money to "sensible" or "moderate" Nazis, thereby strengthening that element and weakening the economically and socially radical tendencies that had always been the chief obstacles to cooperation between big business and National Socialism. There was, however, no agreement as to who the "sensible" Nazis were. Thyssen, one of the few who really wanted a Nazi triumph, was nevertheless concerned about radicalism in the party. He sought to counteract it by subsidizing the man he regarded as the bulwark of moderation, Hermann Göring, who used at least a considerable portion of Thyssen's money to indulge his taste for lavish living.³⁷ Hermann Bücher, head of the large electrical equipment concern, *Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft*, tried to combat Nazi radicalism by giving financial aid to Joseph Goebbels' rival in Berlin, storm troop leader Walter Stennes, in his

³⁴ Czichon, *Wer verhalf Hitler*, 50; Albert Norden, *Die Nation und wir: Ausgewählte Aufsätze und Reden 1933-1964* (2 vols., East Berlin, 1965), I, 322; Schweitzer, *Big Business*, 102.

³⁵ See *Trials of War Criminals*, VII, 536-54; see also the full testimony in Record Group 238, Case 6 (German transcript), XXIV, XXV, XXXIV, NA; interrogation of Bütefisch, 1947, T-301/71/NI-8637, *ibid.* The prosecution sought to establish a connection between the meeting of Bütefisch and Gattineau with Hitler and an agreement of the *Reich* government with *Farben*, consummated in December 1933, which provided price supports for the synthetic gasoline project. This interpretation was rejected by both Bütefisch and Gattineau. It was also refuted by affidavits from officials in the Ministry of Economics who had drawn up the agreement of 1933 and who denied that any political influence had been involved. (Dokumentenbuch Bütefisch 4, Record Group 238, Case 6, *ibid.*)

³⁶ At a meeting of *Farben's* "Working Committee" (*Arbeitsausschuss*) on April 15, 1932, the relationship between the firm's plans for agreements with foreign companies and the autarkist slogan, "Protection of the German Market" (*Schutz des deutschen Marktes*), was discussed. Director August von Knieriem emphasized that it was the company's policy to oppose both autarky and state controls of any kind, pointing out that Carl Bosch, one of the founders of the combine, had recently made a similar statement to the press. (Nachtrag I zu den Dokumentenbüchern Gattineau [excerpt from the stenographic record of the meeting], Record Group 238, Case 6, NA.)

³⁷ Thyssen, *I Paid Hitler*, 100. This statement in the book is confirmed by the stenographic record of the interviews with Thyssen on which the book was based. (See note 12, above.)

short-lived revolt.³⁸ Surprisingly, the directors of the principal organization of the coal industry, the *Bergbau-Verein*, saw their “moderate” Nazi in Gregor Strasser—usually classified as a leader of the Left Wing—and for a time channeled funds to him.³⁹ Still others gave money to Walther Funk, the former editor of a conservative financial newspaper, who bore at least the title of economic adviser to Hitler and who was regarded in some business quarters as a “liberal” Nazi and a potential moderating influence.⁴⁰

Not all attempts to alter the Nazis’ economic and social attitudes involved financial contributions. Kirdorf, for example, maintained cordial personal relations with Hitler even after resigning from the party in 1928 and sought to exert influence on the *Führer* by making clear his objections to the Left-wing Nazis and to the radical planks in the party program.⁴¹ Much the same attempt was made by the *Keppler-Kreis*, the group of businessmen assembled in the spring of 1932 at Hitler’s request by one of his advisers, Wilhelm Keppler. Later, during the Third Reich, after this group was appropriated by Heinrich Himmler and transformed into his *Freundeskreis*, it became a source of enormous contributions for the SS.⁴² But prior to the acquisition of power by the Nazis, it was merely an advisory body, seeking, without success, to bring about a commitment of the party to conservative economic policies; it did not serve as a channel for business contributions.⁴³

The question of whether the Nazis were aided appreciably by the big business money that did reach them from those who were seeking either to buy protection or to alter the nature of the party cannot at present be definitively an-

³⁸ This is revealed by Bücher’s correspondence with Reusch in No. 400101290/5, Reusch Papers.

³⁹ See the book written by the intermediary between Strasser and the *Bergbau-Verein* (properly *Verein für die bergbaulichen Interessen*), Heinrichsbauer, *Schwerindustrie und Politik*, 39–52. Czichon (*Wer verhalf Hitler*, 54) cites the as yet unpublished memoirs of Günther Gereke to the effect that the industrialist Otto Wolff also subsidized Strasser in 1932 at the request of Wolff’s friend, General Kurt von Schleicher, who hoped thereby to make Strasser more independent of Hitler.

⁴⁰ At Nuremberg in 1948 Flick described Funk as a “liberal thinking man” and a “man of liberal outlook.” (See Record Group 238, Case 10 [German transcript], XV, 5584, NA.) According to testimony of his former assistant, Otto Steinbrinck, Flick was among those who aided Funk. (Case 5 [German transcript], XV, 4981, *ibid.*) Funk also received small subsidies from two young public relations agents of *I. G. Farben*, who acted independently of each other in providing funds for the maintenance of his Berlin office in 1932. (See affidavit of Ilgner, May 1, 1947, T-301/55/NI-7082, *ibid.*) Ilgner stated that he ceased payments when he discovered that Funk was also receiving money from Gattineau for the same purpose. According to Heinrichsbauer (*Schwerindustrie und Politik*, 42, 44), the *Bergbau-Verein* also subsidized Funk.

⁴¹ Turner, “Kirdorf and the Nazi Party,” 335–36.

⁴² Klaus Drobisch, “Der Freundeskreis Himmler,” *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, VIII (No. 2, 1960), 304–28.

⁴³ One of the founding members of the *Keppler-Kreis*, Baron Kurt von Schroeder, was repeatedly questioned about this after the war. On each occasion he denied that the group had made any financial contributions to the Nazi cause prior to the party’s acquisition of power. (See T-301/3/NI-246, NI-247, NA; also, Pre-Trial Interrogations, Schroeder, Aug. 18, 1947, Record Group 238, *ibid.*) In an affidavit of December 5, 1945, Schroeder stated that fund raising began only in 1935 or 1936, when Himmler took over the group. (Record Group 238, PS-3337, *ibid.*) This statement agrees with that of Steinbrinck, another early member, who dated the start of fund raising as 1935. (Pre-Trial Interrogations, Steinbrinck, Jan. 25, 1947, Record Group 238, *ibid.*) See also the documentation on the beginnings of the *Keppler-Kreis* in the privately printed memoirs of Emil Helfferich, one of the founding members, *Ein Leben* (4 vols., Hamburg and Jever, 1948–64), IV, 9–26.

swered: ignorance about Nazi finances is a major handicap that deserves far more attention than it has received. But it is known, from Goebbels' diary and other sources, that the Nazis were plagued by acute money problems until the very moment of Hitler's appointment as Chancellor.⁴⁴ It thus seems clear that the sums received were not sufficient to solve the party's financial problems. The significant point, in any case, is that the funds reaching the Nazis from big business were but a small fraction of those that went to their opponents and rivals. On balance, big business money went overwhelmingly against the Nazis.

In spite of all this, it is nevertheless true that most business leaders were favorably inclined toward the new cabinet installed on January 30, 1933, with Hitler as Chancellor. It has been alleged that this was only the expression of attitudes already discernible at least as early as November, when, following the poor showing of the Papen bloc at the polls, some businessmen had, at the instigation of the *Keppeler-Kreis*, petitioned Hindenburg to appoint Hitler Chancellor. But the attitude of those who signed the petition was not typical of the outlook of big business in November 1932; nor did the list of signatories include any major business figures, aside from Thyssen, who had for some time made no secret of his support for the Nazis. Another signatory, Hjalmar Schacht, is often assigned to the ranks of big business, but as of 1932 he is more properly classified as a political adventurer.⁴⁵

The change of outlook occurred for most businessmen in December 1932; its primary cause was Kurt von Schleicher. It is difficult to exaggerate their distrust

⁴⁴ Some writers have contended that Goebbels' diary, *Vom Kaiserhof zur Reichskanzlei: Eine historische Darstellung in Tagebuchblättern* (Munich, 1934), shows the finances of the Nazis to have improved markedly in January 1933, following the meeting of Hitler with Papen at the house of the banker Schroeder. Shirer (*Rise and Fall*, 179), for example, citing Goebbels' entry of January 16, writes: "he reported that the financial position of the party had 'fundamentally improved overnight.'" There is, however, no mention of finances in that entry; the overnight change in the Nazis' fortunes referred to by Goebbels was clearly the result of the party's successes the day before in the state elections of Lippe, not of capitalists' contributions. The same erroneous interpretation has been given to this diary entry by Bracher. (*Auflösung*, 694, n. 33.) Bracher cites as well a second entry, that of January 5, in which Goebbels remarked that the financial situation of the Berlin *Gau* had somewhat improved. (*Vom Kaiserhof*, 235.) It is hardly likely, however, that the Hitler-Papen meeting of January 4 could have, as Bracher infers, had such an immediate material effect on the treasury of the local Berlin organization only one day later. In any event, by January 6 Goebbels was again bemoaning the "bad financial situation of the organization." (*Ibid.*, 236.)

⁴⁵ Schacht, a banker by background, had been out of private business for nine years, first as a government official and then, after his resignation as president of the *Reichsbank* in 1930, in retirement on his country estate. East German historians have made much of the discovery in their archives of twenty signed copies of the petition which reached President Hindenburg's office. (See Albert Schreiner, "Die Eingabe deutscher Finanzmagnaten, Monopolisten und Junker an Hindenburg für die Berufung Hitlers zum Reichskanzler [November, 1932]," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, IV [No. 2, 1956], 366-69; also, Czichon, *Wer verhalf Hitler*, 41-42.) A comparison of the list of those who signed the petition with the list of those considered as potential signers by the organizers of the project reveals, however, that the great majority apparently refused to sign. (See Record Group 238, PS-3901, NA; excerpt in International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, 14 November 1945-1 October 1946* [42 vols., Nuremberg, 1947-49], XXXIII, 531-33.) It is also perhaps revealing that East German historians have made no mention of another document in the same archival file, also dating from November 1932: an election appeal issued by the *Deutscher Ausschuss 'Mit Hindenburg für Volk und Reich'*, calling for support in the November *Reichstag* election of the parties backing Papen's cabinet (and thus for opposition to the Nazis). In contrast to the 20 signed copies of the petition, this appeal bears 339 signatures, including those of some of the many prominent businessmen who did not sign the petition. (*Büro des Reichspräsidenten*, No. 47, *Deutsches Zentralarchiv*, Potsdam.)

and fear of the man who became Chancellor on December 3. They were hostile to him in part for his role in bringing down Papen, the one Chancellor they had admired and trusted. But even more important was Schleicher's apparent indifference to orthodox economic principles and traditional class alignments. Shortly after becoming Chancellor he caused the gravest apprehension in business circles by announcing that he was neither a capitalist nor a socialist. He also flirted openly with the trade unions, raising the specter of an alliance of the military and the working class against the propertied elements of society. As a result, Germany's big businessmen feared that Schleicher might turn out to be a socialist in military garb.⁴⁶ It was more from a desire to be rid of him than from enthusiasm for what was to replace him that they applauded the events of January 1933.

Contrary to what has often been asserted, big business played no part in the intrigues of that month. Much has been made of the role of Baron Kurt von Schroeder, the banker at whose home in Cologne Hitler and Papen met on January 4 to conspire against Schleicher. Schroeder was, however, not acting as an agent of big business. His importance lay in the fortuitous fact that he was acquainted with both Papen and Keppler, Hitler's adviser, and could thus serve as a convenient intermediary between two sides anxious to join forces.⁴⁷ Nor is there any evidence that the meeting at his house began a flow of business money to the Nazis, as has repeatedly been alleged.⁴⁸ Money was, in any event, not

⁴⁶ There is ample evidence of this in a wide variety of sources. For examples, see the letter of the manager of the *Deutscher Industrie- und Handelstag*, Eduard Hamm, to Otto Most, Dec. 10, 1932, in which Hamm wrote of rumors to the effect that the cabinet would be revamped on a parliamentary basis in a "certain soldier-worker direction," R11/10, *Bundesarchiv*, Koblenz; speech of Krupp to the *Hauptausschuss* of the *Reichsverband der Deutschen Industrie*, Dec. 14, 1932, reported in a communication of the *Reichsverband* of Dec. 15, No. 400101220/13, Reusch Papers; excerpts from the speech of the manager of the *Reichsverband*, Jakob Herle, Jan. 2, 1933, Herle to Reusch, Jan. 4, No. 400101220/14, *ibid.*; Reusch's letters to Hamm, Dec. 22, 31, 1932, No. 40010123/25, *ibid.*; Duisberg to Herle, Jan. 9, 1933, *Reichsverband der Deutschen Industrie, Allgemeiner Schriftwechsel mit der Geschäftsführung, Werkssarchiv, Farbenfabrik Bayer*, Leverkusen; Hugo Stinnes to Klein, Jan. 18, 1933, Klein Papers. Some of the leading Ruhr industrialists had an additional reason for hostility toward Schleicher, for they suspected he had used to buy himself a newspaper (*Tägliche Rundschau*, Berlin) some of the money they had given him during the July election campaign in support of the parties backing Papen. (See Kurt von Schleicher Papers, HO8-42/22, *Bundesarchiv*, Koblenz; Reusch to Fritz Springorum, Oct. 12, 1932, No. 400101290/36, Reusch Papers.)

⁴⁷ The nature of Schroeder's role emerges clearly from the correspondence preceding the meeting. (T-301/3/NI-200-16, NA.) Schroeder's lack of standing in big business circles prior to 1933 is attested to by the almost complete absence of his name from the correspondence of major industrial figures cited elsewhere in this article. As is shown by a series of postwar interrogations, his industrial role began only during the Third Reich, largely as a result of his Nazi contacts. (NI-226-49, *ibid.*)

⁴⁸ Hallgarten (*Hitler, Reichswehr und Industrie*, 116) has alleged that immediately after the meeting a consortium of industrialists gave a million marks to the SS and paid the most pressing election debts of the Nazi party. As evidence, he cites an undocumented assertion by the journalist Konrad Heiden, plus a postwar affidavit by Schroeder. In the affidavit Schroeder mentioned payment of a million marks a year to the SS by the *Freundeskreis*, but stated that this began only in 1935 or 1936, specifying that no such payments to the Nazis were made prior to then by that group (this document, which Hallgarten cites by its exhibit number in the Flick trial, is better known as PS-3337; see note 43, above). Two further supporting references offered by Hallgarten lead to an English translation of an excerpt from the same affidavit by Schroeder and pages "1353 ff." of a volume containing only 1099 pages. Bracher has accepted Hallgarten's interpretation and offered as additional evidence a quotation from Thyssen, *I Paid Hitler*, which refers not, as Bracher indicates, to the effects of the Cologne meeting, but to the aftermath of Hitler's speech before the *Industrie-Klub* almost a year earlier. (Bracher, *Auflösung*, 694, n. 33; see also note 44, above.) If the Cologne meeting had opened the coffers of big business to the Nazis, there

what mattered in January 1933. What counted was influence with Hindenburg, and big business had little or none of that. From the President's *Junker* standpoint, even the most powerful bankers and industrialists were little better than shopkeepers.⁴⁹

Most of the leaders of big business were, to the very end, under a basic misapprehension about the nature of the new cabinet taking shape in January 1933. Their information came mainly from Papen and his circle, and they were led to believe that what was coming was a revival of the Papen cabinet, with its base widened through the inclusion of the Nazis. Even when it was learned that Papen would be Vice-Chancellor under Hitler, big business continued to assume that he would be the real leader of the new government.⁵⁰ In the eyes of the business community, January 30, 1933, seemed at first to mark the fall of the hated Schleicher and the return of the trusted Papen, not the advent of a Nazi dictatorship.

By the time the leaders of big business were disabused of this illusion, they were ready to make their peace with Hitler. One factor in this turn of events was the ability of the new Chancellor, as the legally installed head of government, to appeal to their respect for constituted authority. But even more important, once he was in office Hitler demonstrated that he was, as he had always reassured them, not a socialist. He therefore had no difficulty in extracting large sums from big business, starting with the campaign for the *Reichstag* election of March 1933. These contributions unquestionably aided Hitler significantly. But they aided him in the consolidation of his power, not in its acquisition. He had achieved that without the support of most of big business, indeed in spite of its massive assistance to his opponents and rivals.

These observations are in no sense intended as an exoneration of German big business. Its political record in the period that ended with the establishment of the Third *Reich* is hardly praiseworthy. In numerous ways its leaders contributed indirectly to the rise of Nazism: through their failure to support the demo-

would hardly have been need for Hitler's appeal for funds to the leaders of industry on February 20, 1933. (See *Trials of War Criminals*, VII, 555-68.)

⁴⁹ In early October 1931 former Chancellor Wilhelm Cuno, head of the Hamburg-America shipping line, met secretly with President Hindenburg and suggested some of the country's most prominent big businessmen for inclusion in a projected economic council. It quickly became evident, Cuno told editor Klein of the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* later the same day, that Hindenburg had not recognized most of the names. (Diary entry, Oct. 5, 1931, Klein Papers.) The relative unimportance of money in the political constellation of January 1933 was recognized by Goebbels, who wrote in his diary on January 6: "In view of the satisfying progress of political developments, one hardly has the desire to bother any more about the bad financial situation of the organization. If we pull it off this time, then all that will not matter any longer." (Goebbels, *Vom Kaiserhof*, 236.)

⁵⁰ On January 26, 1933, in a letter to the chairman of the *Reichsverband der Deutschen Industrie*, Ludwig Kastl, managing director of that organization and usually well informed on political developments, reported that the talk in Berlin was of a Papen-Hitler-Schacht cabinet, with Papen as Chancellor. (Kastl to Krupp, *Dokumentenbuch von Bülow I*, Record Group 238, Case 10, NA.) As late as March, Reusch described the new government as "Herr von Papen's work of political unification" and promised further support of Papen. (Reusch to Kurt von Lersner, Mar. 4, 1933, No. 400101293/12, Reusch Papers.) The expectation of a new Papen cabinet was widespread in late January. (See Ewald von Kleist-Schmenzin, "Die letzte Möglichkeit: Zur Ernennung Hitlers zum Reichskanzler am 30. Januar 1933," *Politische Studien*, X [Feb. 1959], 91.)

cratic republic; through their blind hostility to the Social Democrats and the labor unions; through their aid to reactionary forces, most conspicuously the Papen regime; and through the respectability they bestowed upon Hitler by receiving him into their midst on a number of occasions. Some contributed more directly, by giving money to the Nazi party, or at least to certain Nazis. None of this, however, should be allowed to obscure the central fact that the great majority of Germany's big businessmen had neither wanted a Nazi triumph nor contributed materially to it.

The last statement, it should be emphasized, does not necessarily apply to the German business community as a whole. There are, in fact, indications that Hitler received considerable support from small- and middle-sized business.⁵¹ This is not surprising, for it was there that the real and potential entrepreneurial victims of the Great Depression were to be found. The giant businesses of the country knew from past experience that their importance to the national economy was so great that no government could afford to let them go bankrupt; in fact, the cabinets of the republic repeatedly came to the aid of ailing big business concerns rather than face the sharp increase in unemployment that their collapse would entail.⁵² Smaller, less visible firms could expect no such protection from the abrasive mechanisms of cyclical contraction; for their owners and managers, economic extinction was a real possibility, with the consequence that they were often genuinely desperate men. But the fact nevertheless remains that these small- and middle-sized businessmen can by no stretch of the imagination be included in the ranks of German big business, or, to use Marxist terminology, "the monopoly capitalists." Therefore, unless one is willing to accept the simplistic *cui bono* approach, according to which the eventual economic beneficiaries of Hitler's acquisition of power must necessarily have supported him beforehand, or the sophistic distinction between subjective and objective roles in history that is so popular in Marxist circles, it must be concluded that during its rise to power National Socialism was, in socioeconomic terms, primarily a movement not of winners in the capitalist struggle for survival but of losers and those who feared becoming losers.

It can, of course, be argued that even if the big businessmen did not support Hitler, National Socialism was nevertheless a product of capitalism. Certainly the deprivation and anxiety occasioned by the downward turn of the capitalist economic cycle after 1929 heightened the susceptibility of many Germans to the

⁵¹ Two recent studies show this to have been the case during the Nazi party's early years: Georg Franz-Willing, *Die Hitlerbewegung: Der Ursprung 1919-1922* (Hamburg, 1962), 177-98; Werner Maser, *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP: Hitlers Weg bis 1924* (Frankfurt a.M., 1965), 396-412. A study written at the time and based on the business press concluded that the same pattern had characterized the last years before 1933: Ernst Lange, "Die politische Ideologie der deutschen industriellen Unternehmerschaft," doctoral dissertation, University of Greifswald, 1933, 36, 80. This was also the view of Theodor Heuss, *Hitlers Weg: Eine historisch-politische Studie über den Nationalsozialismus* (Stuttgart, 1932), 122.

⁵² There is much documentation on this in the papers of the *Reichswirtschaftsministerium*, now located in the *Deutsches Zentralarchiv*, Potsdam.

panaceas offered by the Nazis. The country's capitalist economic system also fostered and exacerbated the class animosities that the Nazis exploited and promised to eliminate. It spawned as well the other long-term economic and social problems to which Nazism was in large measure a response, although a response that offered mainly quack remedies and flights from reality rather than real solutions. National Socialism was thus undeniably a child of the capitalist order. Still, care must be taken not to attach undue significance to that fact. Only a few capitalist societies have produced phenomena comparable to Nazism; on the other hand, the latter shares its capitalist parentage with every other political movement that has emerged from modern Europe, including liberal democracy and Communism.

Big Business and German Politics: A Comment

ERNST NOLTE

TO give a critical analysis of the preceding articles is not my intention. Rather I shall try to establish a relationship between the three topics; then I shall point out the general problem toward which they contribute a solution; and, finally, basing my remarks on certain general statements in the three articles, I shall add some considerations about the relationship between politics and economics as well as between historical scholarship and ideology.

The authors have outlined three epochs in the relationship between German politics and economics, that is, in the relationship between the holders of modern economic power, based on control over money and industrial capital, on the one hand, and the holders of political power, based on tradition or acclamation, on the other hand. No matter how strong the position or how great the wealth of Gerson Bleichröder may have been, there can be no doubt that his relationship to Otto von Bismarck was one of subordination. Fritz Stern does not hesitate to compare Bleichröder's position in certain respects to that of a court Jew; he rightly calls this situation anachronistic, although even in the Weimar Republic, as Henry Turner points out, to Paul von Hindenburg the mightiest bankers and industrialists were hardly more than shopkeepers. Anachronisms in history are often persistent, and it seems clear that in Bismarck's *Reich* not only the Chancellor's banker but business in general, although influential and indispensable, was subordinate to political power, that is, subordinate to the complex of military monarchy, rural nobility, and high bureaucracy.

Gerald Feldman's observation that business lightheartedly saw the old regime collapse in 1918 does not, therefore, come as a surprise. The relationship thereafter became one of coordination, and businessmen could even harbor the notion that they held the key to the nation's future, because in some quarters business was said to be the determining factor in the nation's fate. But obviously these men were not the masters of the Weimar Republic; otherwise the majority of them would not have opposed this "bourgeois democracy" with so much arrogance, mistrust, and even hostility.

The relationship becomes less clear when one examines the National Socialist epoch. The thesis has been advanced with great determination that the big industrialists brought Hitler to power in order to become masters of the state and

► *Mr. Nolte is a professor at the University of Marburg. His recent studies of fascism in Europe include Die Krise des liberalen Systems und die faschistischen Bewegungen (Munich, 1968).*

that their expectations were fulfilled. Just as categorically, the opposite opinion has been expressed: that Hitler's seizure of power was brought about by forces hostile to business and that businessmen in the Third *Reich* were nothing but slaves. Turner deals with this unsolved and controversial problem, and, because it is controversial, I shall concern myself primarily with it.

Certainly it was not Turner's intention to solve the whole problem. Even if it was not the contributions and the manipulations of big business that brought Hitler to power, the possibility that big business played a master's role in the Third *Reich* would not be entirely eliminated. It is not unimaginable, on the other hand, that a Hitler financed by big business might later have broken the power of his former patrons. A negative answer to the question posed by Turner makes it likely, nevertheless, that the traditional subordination of economics to politics assumed a new and more radical form during the Third *Reich*.

No justification is needed to show the importance of this problem. The solution to it is both a prerequisite and a criterion for interpreting the nature of National Socialism and fascism, for judging the validity of Marxist teachings, and, to a certain degree, for evaluating present-day events. It is not surprising, therefore, that these two sharply opposite tendencies have emerged in recent writings. The more important is doubtless the one that asserts the responsibility of big business, because this tendency has more imposing scholarly and theoretical credentials than the apologetic writings of August Heinrichsbauer, Louis P. Lochner, and Ernst Poensgen; their works are for the most part limited to reports about the negative attitudes of certain businessmen toward National Socialism.¹ The defenders of the first tendency include both Marxist and non-Marxist authors; on this question, the Allied unity of the Second World War survives to a certain degree.

What has made me suspicious of this school of thought is, to use Arthur Schopenhauer's terms, the unmistakable predominance in these studies of the will over the intellect. I fully appreciate that the basic assumption offered by the apologetic literature—that the masses swept Hitler into power and that Hitler persecuted big business—cannot be true. But this simplistic picture cannot be rectified by trying to combine the roles of public prosecutor and judge. I did not notice this predominance of will in Turner's approach, and so I am inclined to agree with his findings. His thorough knowledge of the documents has confirmed many old suspicions and has suggested numerous analogous cases. Criticism of the existing literature ought, in general, to be directed at three characteristics: gross inaccuracies in facts; the isolation and distortion of facts; and erroneous evaluations of the historical situation in 1932–1933, related in turn to certain implied fundamental assumptions.

¹ August Heinrichsbauer, *Schwerindustrie und Politik* (Essen, 1948); Louis P. Lochner, *Tycoons and Tyrant: German Industry from Hitler to Adenauer* (Chicago, 1954); Ernst Poensgen, "Hitler und die Ruhrindustriellen: Ein Rückblick," Record Group 238 (World War II War Crimes Records), Case 10, Bülow Dokumentenbuch I, National Archives [hereafter cited as NA].

A striking example of factual inaccuracy is found in the recent study by Eberhard Czichon,² where the old assertion is repeated that the chief organization of the coal industry, the *Bergbau-Verein*, decided that, starting in January 1931, all firms connected with the *Rheinisch-Westfälisches Kohlsyndikat* had to pay five pfennigs for every ton of coal sold in order to finance the Nazi party; a newspaper report of September 1932 serves as proof.³ There is no mention of the fact that this matter was widely discussed in the West German press in 1947 and that the assertion was refuted as convincingly as possible.⁴ Czichon argues that it was not by coincidence that *I. G. Farben* had been prepared to pay 100,000 reichsmarks to Hitler's party at the end of 1932. But if one examines the Nuremberg trial document cited by Czichon as proof of this assertion, one learns that this payment was made in 1944, twelve years later than he states.⁵ Again, Czichon says that Hitler met with Emil Kirdorf and Fritz Thyssen in order to "report" the results of the meeting with Franz von Papen in Cologne on January 4, 1933, at the house of the banker Kurt von Schroeder. He cites the book by Hans Otto Meissner and Harry Wilde about Hitler's seizure of power, but neither on the pages indicated nor anywhere else in that book is there a word about such a meeting.⁶ No better founded, as Turner has shown, is the assertion that the *Freundeskreis*, the group of businessmen organized in 1932 by Hitler's adviser Wilhelm Keppler, paid one million marks to the Nazi party immediately after the meeting in Cologne, an assertion that Czichon bases on the work of George W. F. Hallgarten.⁷ Czichon's irresponsible scholarship also accepts and extends Hallgarten's misleading verdict that "the mining industry financed Hitler."⁸ He does not repeat Hallgarten's unfounded contention that at a meeting with Albert Vögler, Ernst Brandi, and Fritz Springorum in the summer of 1931 Hitler requested a contribution of 300,000 reichsmarks to pay for the new Nazi party headquarters, the "Brown House," but neither does he correct it.⁹ In such ways, the inaccuracies,

² Eberhard Czichon, *Wer verhalf Hitler zur Macht? Zum Anteil der deutschen Industrie an der Zerstörung der Weimarer Republik* (Cologne, 1967).

³ Czichon (*ibid.*, 19, n. 22) cites the *Berliner Tageblatt* of Sept. 27, 1932. Not even this citation is exact; in neither the morning nor the evening edition of that day's paper is there any mention of the subject.

⁴ See "Stinnes ist untragbar," *Die Welt*, Western ed., July 24, 1947; "Hugo Stinnes widerlegt Gerüchte," *ibid.*, Aug. 2, 1947; "Zwei Dementis über Stinnes," *ibid.*, Aug. 5, 1947; "Dementis über Stinnes," *ibid.*, Aug. 9, 1947; "Weder fünfzig noch fünf Pfennig," *ibid.*, Sept. 2, 1947; "Stinnes bestreitet Mitgliedschaft," *ibid.*; "Berichtigung," *ibid.*, Sept. 23, 1947; see also Lochner, *Tycoons and Tyrant*, 98-101.

⁵ Czichon, *Wer verhalf Hitler*, 50. For the document, see Microcopy T-301 (Records of the Office of the U.S. Chief Counsel for War Crimes, Nuremberg, Military Tribunals, Relating to Nazi Industrialists), roll 28/NI-3807, NA.

⁶ Czichon (*Wer verhalf Hitler*, 51, n. 199) refers to Hans Otto Meissner and Harry Wilde, *Die Machtergreifung: Die Technik des nationalsozialistischen Staatsstreichs* (Stuttgart, 1958), 157 ff.

⁷ Czichon, *Wer verhalf Hitler*, 51.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 19, 40-41. George W. F. Hallgarten's statement appears in his *Hitler, Reichswehr und Industrie: Zur Geschichte der Jahre 1918-1933* (Frankfurt a.M., 1955), 126, n. 27. He bases his verdict explicitly on Heinrich Bauer's *Schwerindustrie und Politik*, 52, although the latter's thesis throughout his book is that the mining industry's money was not given to Hitler but to Walther Funk and Gregor Strasser, who were regarded as moderating influences on the Nazi party and, in the case of Strasser, as a possible rival to Hitler.

⁹ Hallgarten, *Hitler, Reichswehr und Industrie*, 100. Hallgarten's source for his account of this meet-

errors, and misrepresentations of the three most frequently cited proponents of this tendency—Konrad Heiden, Thyssen, and Hallgarten (who cannot, however, be placed on the same level)—pass on from author to author and from book to book.

Even when the details are correct, a wrong impression may be created by a selective use of facts. Mentioning only the contributions made to the National Socialists suggests definite aims on the part of the donors, which in reality, with few exceptions, did not exist at all. Thus the testimony at the war crimes trial of the industrialist Friedrich Flick reveals nothing more clearly than the anxious endeavors of a vulnerable company to protect itself against political attacks by making contributions to all sides, including the Communists. Even so able a scholar as Arthur Schweitzer, nevertheless, can refer in his book on the role of big business in the Third *Reich* to the fifty thousand marks paid by Flick to the Nazi party in 1932, while mentioning only in the footnotes the contributions made to Hindenburg's campaign of that year and to the parties that supported him. Schweitzer describes these contributions as "also sizable," despite the fact that they were twenty times as great as the sums given to the Nazis.¹⁰ A similar and common shift of emphasis occurs if the events preceding Hitler's speech at the Düsseldorf *Industrie-Klub* in January 1932 are not reported, thereby giving the impression of a collusion that did not exist. In reality, Gregor Strasser, not Hitler, was originally scheduled as the speaker, and the speech was, in good democratic fashion, intended as a counterpoise to an address given in 1931 before the same organization by the Social Democrat Max Cohen-Reus.¹¹

Finally, certain erroneous evaluations may result from indignation over the support that Hitler received from some industrialists, indignation stemming from the belief that this support "brought Hitler to power" or even "propelled him into power." I am not convinced that this belief is based upon a just evaluation of the situation in the second half of 1932. If the Weimar Republic made fatal mistakes that might have been avoided, these mistakes had been made before that time, namely, the termination of the Great Coalition, the calling of new elections by Heinrich Brüning in 1930, and the dissolution of the *Reichstag* by Papen in the summer of 1932. But after Hitler had scored enormous gains in the elections of July 1932, the problem was no longer how he could be brought to power, but how he could be kept from power. To fend him off under these circumstances, especially in view of the existence of a strong Communist party, would have been a masterpiece of statesmanship. The assumption that such a masterpiece should have been forthcoming is, however, hardly a sound basis for historical understanding. If, indeed, we put ourselves in the place of the men of that day, we

ing is Heinrichsbauer, *Schwerindustrie und Politik*, 43, where a meeting of the specified industrialists is in fact described, but there is no mention of Hitler's presence.

¹⁰ Arthur Schweitzer, *Big Business in the Third Reich* (Bloomington, Ind., 1964), 102, 649, n. 51.

¹¹ Fritz Thyssen, *I Paid Hitler* (New York, 1941), 100–102; see also Heinrichsbauer, *Schwerindustrie und Politik*, 45–46.

can see how, after Papen's failure and Kurt von Schleicher's unsuccessful attempt to split the Nazi party, it seemed to many, regardless of their own preferences, that there was no way to avoid commissioning the leader of the strongest party to form a government, provided certain constitutional guarantees were given. Hitler's strength determined the action of Papen and the industrialists; their actions did not produce his strength. It was not in itself evil scheming on the part of the industrialists to concern themselves with, and seek to win influence over, so powerful a party. That they altogether misjudged Hitler can easily be said with the wisdom of hindsight; no doubt a more prudent evaluation could have been reached if Hitler's writings and speeches had been thoroughly studied at the time. But even among scholars it is not altogether common to reproach each other with inexact reading or distorted reporting.

From a more general point of view, I should like to point out the inadequacy of the implied fundamental assumption in much of the literature, that private interests of profit exhaust the motivation of big businessmen. As private persons, the Vöglers and Bosches, the Krupps and Poensgens, the Reusches and Thyssens could easily have saved themselves and at least part of their profits. They shared the responsibility, however, for one of the greatest and one of the most damaged national economies in the world, and with this in mind they acted. It might even be unjust to reproach them for considering rearmament as a way out of the crisis, for such rearmament could be regarded as a mere restoration of equality among the nations. In any case, the second, and this time solely Marxist, fundamental assumption seems equally untenable—that there could be a group or even a society whose motivations, in contrast to those of the capitalists, would be entirely unselfish and whose actions would be a priori identical with the common welfare.

However erroneous this concept, it can be helpful in elucidating, with the aid of a model, the relationship between politics and economics in Western society. If one assumes that industrialization is the most astonishing and most far-reaching achievement of mankind in recent centuries, then one might imagine that it came about under the leadership of a ruling group that had nothing in mind but the great goal of industrialization and that concentrated all the material and spiritual forces of society to attain this goal, directing all policies solely toward the expansion of the productive forces. In reality the evolution did not, and probably could not, work that way. There exists, to be sure, a basic identity of politics and economics in the Communist states, but their immediate aims are determined by the competition with capitalist states. In the Western system, however, economics was merely one element among others, and it was often even a neglected element. Perhaps only because this was so could that "excess," that *Masslosigkeit* of which Marx speaks, become a reality, could that path into the unknown and unwanted be blazed, which more than anything else was characteristic of this industrialization. No group of leaders who adhere to the goal of a mere meeting of daily needs can, on its own, enter upon this path. It was like G. W. F. Hegel's *List der*

Vernunft: the evolution of productive forces took place as if wealth were the exclusive concern of those who pushed ahead with that evolution. That is why large spheres of life—science, art, religion, and the traditional state—could remain for a long time relatively unaffected by the process and could in turn react upon the economy. But, of course, wealth is not the exclusive concern of man, as Stern stated, and so the economic leaders strove for political power as well and, to use Turner's expression, at times might have been led to believe that money could purchase political power. But even the phenomena they attacked as dangerous, such as the workers' movement, could one day prove an indispensable impetus to further development. Capitalism is, on the whole, characterized by the fact that the protagonists of the economic order are not rulers but competitors for rule. And this competition takes place in different ways, depending on the specific preconditions and traditions of the national societies. In 1835 Alexis de Tocqueville reported that the rich in America were "hiding," and in the Flick trial Otto Steinbrinck, Flick's former assistant and later the holder of a high position in the economy of the Third *Reich*, complained that the SS leaders had always looked down on and despised businessmen.¹² Only within this framework of different elements and traditions can certain effects follow from economic causes. An economic crisis can produce radicalization and a change of government only if it occurs within the framework of a parliamentary system: in Stalin's Russia even catastrophic famines produced only resignation, not rebellion, because in that country political, economic, and spiritual power were identical. The question is whether National Socialism or fascism can also be regarded as such a specific framework. It is true that in the Third *Reich* politics and economics were not identical, that the industrialists kept their possessions and retained at least part of their influence. Yet, in a very real sense, the industrialists were completely eliminated as a major political factor, since they had no voice in ultimate policy-making decisions. These decisions, in traditional international relations, involve questions of whether a war should be waged, when a war should be waged, and what kind of war should be waged. A modern political system that does not give its economic leaders a voice in such basic decisions must be regarded as a peculiar structure indeed.

The capitalists are, in fact, not the creators but the products of the societies in which they grow up, even though the process that they seem to direct increasingly changes those societies. They mirror the history and the divisiveness of their societies, and they probably have only one conviction in common: that it is necessary to prevent the Communist party from seizing power. They hold many secondary convictions, but they do not hold these convictions as capitalists. If many German industrialists were convinced that the legend of the "stab in the back" was true and if they considered the Polish Corridor as a "thorn in the

¹² Nuernberg Military Tribunals, *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10* (15 vols., Washington, D.C., 1949-53), VI, 360-61.

flesh," they thought and acted not so much as capitalists but as nationalists and were not motivated primarily by commercial interests. Most businessmen agreed on their determination to regain a "place in the sun" for Germany and not to recognize the eastern borders. They shared these convictions, however, with officers and professors, with clergymen and civil servants, and even with functionaries of the Social Democratic party. Here indeed we have a basic identity of the main part of the ruling class as a whole. This class, like every group of political leaders since the French Revolution, was rooted in passionate thinking or, to use a more common expression, in an ideology, which told them what had to be considered as socially worthy and what as worthless, what had to be hated and what respected, what could be accepted and what ignored. Only because Hitler seemingly shared such passionate thinking did he find sympathy and support. It is here that responsibility may be sought, a responsibility that would remain even if not a single mark from industrial funds had found its way to Hitler.

This basic identity becomes evident when two documents, one of which Turner has recently edited, are compared. They are Gustav Stresemann's speech at the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Landsmannschaften* on December 14, 1925,¹³ and Hitler's pamphlet, written for Kirdorf in 1927, entitled *Der Weg zum Wiederaufstieg*.¹⁴ In both documents we find the same determination not to accept the Versailles system, to regain the status of a Great Power, and to change the eastern borders at the earliest opportunity, by means of war if necessary. The historian may be reminded of Max Weber's inaugural lecture at Freiburg,¹⁵ with its strong national egocentricity, and of many similar documents. If Hitler represented merely one version of this German nationalism, as a superficial reading of his pamphlet may suggest, then there could be no doubt as to where the final responsibility for the outbreak of the Second World War has to be sought.

But a closer look at Hitler's pamphlet raises the question of whether in the end the differences are not more important than the similarities. He speaks emphatically about "insuring that the basis for food production is constantly brought into line with the population count," and, although only incidentally, he talks about the "corrosion of our soul," the main cause of which is implicitly said to be the international Jew. One must conclude, therefore, that it was not so much a matter of a mere *Wiederaufstieg* as of a program for a complete rebirth of the nation, implying a large-scale war of conquest and a radical purge within the nation itself, both ambitions being based on values typical of premodern times. The same conclusion could be drawn from *Mein Kampf*. It could be drawn even more clearly from a recently discovered pamphlet by Dietrich Eckart,¹⁶

¹³ *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik, 1918-1945, aus dem Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts*, Ser. B, I, Pt. 1 (Göttingen, 1966), 727-53.

¹⁴ Henry Ashby Turner, Jr., "Hitler's Secret Pamphlet for Industrialists, 1927," *Journal of Modern History*, XL (Sept. 1968), 348-72.

¹⁵ Max Weber, "Der Nationalstaat und die Volkswirtschaftspolitik," in *Gesammelte politische Schriften*, ed. Johannes Winckelmann (Tübingen, 1958), 1-25.

¹⁶ Ernst Nolte, "Eine frühe Quelle zu Hitlers Antisemitismus," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXCII (No. 3, 1961), 584-606.

in which Hitler's mentor recorded a dialogue between Hitler and himself concerning Bolshevism from Moses to Lenin. This dialogue is so full of excessive hatred directed at a force that since ancient times has allegedly been undermining humanity and comprises so many phenomena that it can no longer be called passionate thinking but only a thinking passion. Hitler does not, therefore, represent only an intensification of German nationalism and its passionate thinking; he also represents another tendency altogether. The guilt of the German industrialists lies not in the fact that they were children of their time, a time in which national egocentricity was by no means limited to Germany. It lies in their failure to recognize that the fundamental nature and ultimate consequences of National Socialism—the self-sufficient racial state, withdrawing from all disturbing communication with the world—was as opposed to the capitalist ingredient of German nationalism as to the feudal ingredient. The German industrialists emerge, therefore, unconvicted, so far as the actual question of financing Hitler is concerned. With respect to the more essential question of moral responsibility, they appear as guilty and not guilty at the same time, although not on the same level.

From what has been said so far, some conclusions can be drawn regarding the relationship of economics and historical scholarship. No one who reads Leopold von Ranke can overlook the extent to which traditional political history as the description and analysis of the decisions of statesmen is deeply rooted in the preindustrial era. This history cannot, however, be replaced by an abstract history of economics, which deals only with productive forces and in which human beings are no more than mere agents of those forces. History in a modern sense begins at the point where passionate thinking is ignited by new realities related to economics, the best-known example being Marxism. Modern history is not, therefore, a mere history of ideas or a mere history of economics, but the history of the process of industrialization or modernization within the framework of given historical preconditions, primarily of those intellectual reactions that are more than individual achievements. Modern historiography is thus dependent upon the various forms of this passionate thinking for its most important material. It has to retain, however, a critical or even hostile distance vis-à-vis these forms and especially vis-à-vis the thinking passions, not only in order to remain scientific but in order to defend in social life those diversities of views and approaches that alone guarantee that thinking stays within its proper bounds and yet remains illimitably open to evolution, just as economics does.

My moral is simple; it connects the different aspects of this comment and suggests that the findings apply also to ourselves: Historians, like capitalists, can and may aspire only to a relative autonomy. When they want to rule or even to impose their will, they become subservient to powers that are hostile to them, no matter how closely allied they seemed to be at the outset.

* * * *Review Note* * * *

NATIONALISM IN BRAZIL: A HISTORICAL SURVEY. By *E. Bradford Burns*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1968. Pp. ix, 158. \$5.50.)

VIRTUALLY every student of modern Latin America agrees that nationalism is a major historical force in that part of the hemisphere. Brazil is Latin America's largest, most industrialized nation, yet we have no sound historical studies of nationalism in Brazil. In attempting to fill this gap, E. Bradford Burns has written a weak book on an important subject.

The principal difficulty lies in Burns's conception of the book. Limiting himself to 132 pages of text, the author chose to sift the entire history of Brazil, gathering evidence of "nationalism." As a consequence he has had to sacrifice the context that would make comprehensible the writings and actions discussed. The resulting superficiality is compounded by Burns's failure, despite occasional efforts, to distinguish among such different sentiments as nativism, patriotism, xenophobia, and the many varieties of nationalism—literary, economic, and political. He often slips into the practice of following uncritically certain contemporary Brazilian "nationalist" writers, such as Barbosa Lima Sobrinho and Nelson Werneck Sodré, who pick through the complex fabric of Brazilian history to find the precursors of their own present-day anti-imperialism. To this Burns adds an unsophisticated search for bits of cultural nationalism. The mere study of folklore, for instance, is apparently an instance of nationalist thought.

Reading this book gives the impression of a smooth, unilinear growth of "nationalism" that has emerged like an irresistible force. The author refers to "the" nationalists, a startling oversimplification that leads him into errors of fact, as well as of interpretation. How far Brazil's oil industry should be nationalized, for instance, was hotly debated *within* groups that claimed to be "nationalist." Ignoring these divisions leads Burns to say that Vargas proposed "a state monopoly of all activities connected with the exploration for [oil]" (which he did) and "development of petroleum resources" (which he certainly did not). The bill proposing Petrobás in 1951 exempted from nationalization the existing private refineries, which later became a volatile political issue for Presidents João Goulart and Castelo Branco; the distribution of oil was left to private firms, both domestic and foreign.

Burns's principal analytical distinction, that between "defensive" and "offensive" nationalism, is not helpful. These adjectives, familiar in describing football teams and armies, do not alert us to the subtleties of Brazilian thought on the role of foreign capital or the virtues of immigrants. Indeed, Burns seldom makes clear whether he is talking about thought or about action. Instead, the reader is offered a brief narrative of Brazilian history, emphasizing the "nationalist" episodes (expulsion of the Dutch in 1654, independence in 1822, Vargas' state-supported industrialization, and others), along with fragments on writers and activities labeled "nationalist."

The author hoped to produce a "general guide for the historical study of Brazilian nationalism," but there are serious omissions, even for such a brief treatment. The agrarian nationalist position is notably neglected. Alberto Tôrres, whose attacks on foreign capital and cultural alienation are noted here, was also adamantly opposed to industrialization and even to cities, which he thought to be corrupting the populace and

distorting the economy. By ignoring this agrarian side of Tôrres, Burns repeats uncritically the interpretation of present-day Brazilian "nationalists" who have their own political reasons for wishing to extoll Tôrres' economic nationalism while at the same time ignoring his physiocratic doctrines. Yet those views were typical, for different reasons, of many "cultural nationalists" of the Modernist Movement in the 1920's. Lusophobia, one of the oldest and most important sources of nationalist sentiment, goes almost unmentioned in the late Empire (What of the celebrated nativist uproar in Recife in the 1870's?), and it is underemphasized in the 1920's when, for example, Antonio (no relation to Alberto) Tôrres became a widely read baiter of the Portuguese.

Burns's puzzling omission of the important Jacobin-Florianista agitation of the 1890's can perhaps be explained by his error in placing the radical newspaper *O Jacobino* (founded in 1894) in a discussion of the period 1830-1850. A similar chronological oversight places Raul Pompéia, the rabid Florianista of the 1890's, in a discussion centered on the mid-Empire.

Other signs of haste in publishing this essay are painfully apparent. In one exuberant sentence—"Brazil stretches unbroken from the Amazon in the north to the Río de la Plata in the south"—the author deftly eliminates Uruguay from the map. The regulation requiring that all public-school classes be conducted in Portuguese was issued in 1938, not during the tenure of Francisco Campos, the Minister of Education from 1930 to 1932. The Communist uprising of 1935 occurred in Natal, not João Pessoa.

There is also carelessness in making certain that the sources cited do in fact support the point for the period under discussion. A speech by Gustavo Corção in 1950 is cited as evidence of his opposition to nationalist thought in the years between 1956 and 1964. Elsewhere the author cites writers of the 1960's as evidence for economic nationalist thought in the 1930's.

Burns's book offers a warning of the dangers inherent in a hasty treatment of the treacherously complex topic of nationalism. Useful generalizations about nationalism in Latin America have been put forward, as the author notes, in the works of Arthur Whitaker and Kalman Silvert. How, then, can our understanding of Latin American nationalism best be advanced? We need carefully detailed analyses of thinkers, movements, and historical episodes that illustrate nationalism in its *different* forms at work. We need to disentangle the relationship between the sentiments of economic nationalism felt by the elite and the populace. We need to know about the views and the political roles of businessmen, intellectuals, students, military officers, technocrats, and landowners. And we need studies of the role of politicians and parties, especially the role of the Left, including the Communist and Communist splinter parties.

Brazil, unlike Argentina and Chile, has been the subject of virtually no such studies. Samuel Baily's *Labor, Nationalism, and Politics in Argentina*, Ernst Halperin's *Nationalism and Communism in Chile*, and the chapters on Bolivia, Brazil, and Argentina in Silvert's *Expectant Peoples*, whatever their weaknesses, deepen our understanding of the "nationalist" dimension of labor movements, intellectual currents, and political parties. Now the time has come for well-researched studies of Brazilian nationalism.

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THOMAS E. SKIDMORE

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Reviews of Books

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General

ACTES. [Comité International des Sciences Historiques. XII^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Vienne, 29 août–5 septembre 1965. Volume V.] (Horn: Verlag Ferdinand Berger & Söhne. n.d. Pp. viii, 2a–2e, 861.)

BILAN DU MONDE EN 1815: RAPPORTS CONJOINTS. [Comité International des Sciences Historiques. XII^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Vienne, 29 août–5 septembre 1965.] (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1966. Pp. 49.)

THIS fifth and last volume of the publications of the Twelfth International Congress of Historical Sciences, held in Vienna during the late summer of 1965, cannot be reviewed in the usual way. It is not a book but a compilation of the several hundred *interventions*, or remarks of commentators, on the nearly one hundred *rapports* given at Vienna upon a great variety of historical subjects, beginning with ancient times and ending with the most recent, covering the world, and upon several historiographical problems.

For the International Congress in Vienna the Bureau of the International Committee with, as is customary, the approval of the International Assembly composed of representatives of the forty-one national committees and fifteen international commissions, chose five *Grands Thèmes*: “L’Acculturation”; “La tolérance religieuse et les hérésies à l’époque moderne”; “Nationalisme et internationalisme aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles”; “Les Classes dirigeantes de l’Antiquité aux temps modernes”; and “Structures sociales et littératures aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles.” From two to ten (thirty-eight in all) reports were prepared on each of these themes. In addition, over fifty reports, usually shorter, were prepared on topics as diverse as “The Emancipation of Latin America,” “Le Problème des sources de l’histoire de l’Afrique noire . . .,” and “Les Bases économiques et sociales de l’absolutisme.”

For the most part these reports were printed and distributed shortly before the Congress and were not read at the sessions. Those who wished to “intervene” were supposed to have read them previously. The *Actes* reveal that the commentators had usually done so and in some cases had even prepared short papers of their own to deliver. There was less extemporaneous debate than the organizers of the Congress had hoped, though occasionally sharp differences of opinion were expressed if not debated.

Nearly every historian will find knowledgeable comments in the *Actes* on subjects of interest to him. I learned something about nationalism and internationalism, about *Les Classes dirigeantes*, about social movements and structures. But at once it must be said that the comments not only vary greatly in length but also in quality and relevance. Some of the commentators seriously addressed themselves to the reports, critically supported or attacked them, added to knowledge of the subject. Others reiterated sterile ideological theses, which probably bored listeners then as they do readers now. Still others apparently said what was uppermost in their minds and, depending on the mind, afforded fresh insights or indulged in safe commonplaces.

At the International Congresses six languages may be used. The commentators, as

well as those who prepare the reports, usually chose French, English, or German (in that order), and a few, Italian or Spanish. The Russians and East Europeans nearly always use one of the first three languages as they usually read their previously prepared *interventions*. Because of language barriers, many of those who attend the sessions, including the commentators, are unable to follow the discussions closely. As a result, the discussions are often repetitive and disjointed, and there is little systematic argument on substantive issues. Except for the Rome Congress in 1955 (and then only for some sessions), simultaneous translation has not been possible—the cost has been too great for historians. (At the 1970 Congress in Moscow there will be simultaneous translation.)

One important question always arises at the International Congresses. Do historians from the Soviet Union and Communist countries learn anything from historians from the West and vice versa? The answer is a qualified “yes.” At Vienna, as the *Actes* show, Communist historians often rose, as they had at previous congresses, to attack bourgeois-capitalist views, but they were not as adamant as they had been—perhaps because of party policy, perhaps also because they had read and listened to their Western colleagues. Western historians sometimes answered in kind but they, too, listened, and sometimes they obtained new information from their Marxist opponents. Too few ideas, as yet, flow over the national and ideological dams, but they do trickle. For thirsty scholars even a trickle is welcome.

The editors of the *Actes* have an almost impossible task: to obtain and print in five languages the remarks of several hundred historians who are often speaking a language not their own and who are not always adept in grammar, spelling, and colloquial usages of “foreign” languages. In addition, the editors must employ printers who probably know no language but their own. The present volume of the *Actes* does contain many errors, in grammar, spelling, and typography. The risks involved in scholarly publication of truly international works in several languages are high. Still, in spite of these errors, the remarks made at the Congresses are printed, available, and nearly always intelligible.

The second title mentioned above is not a book but a pamphlet containing four reports prepared for but not printed in the first four volumes of the Congress (reviewed in the *AHR*, LXXII [Oct. 1966], 119). A prominent French historian in charge of the session on “Le Bilan du monde” (1815) for some reason did not include these planned reports in the planned session, but only those of Frenchmen. Not without reason, the non-French *rapporteurs* protested. The French National Committee then printed these reports at its own expense. By G. S. Graham (England), Lewis Hertzman (Canada), A. Z. Manfred (Soviet Union), and A. L. Narotchnitsky (Soviet Union), they respectively consider the British Empire in relation to the European balance of power, change and continuity in Europe from 1815 to 1848, political and social ideas in 1815, and the historical significance of the continental blockade. These reports deserved reading; they should have been published with their companion pieces.

International collaboration in historical study is not easy, as these two publications once again reveal. But the historian who reads at least the papers and the comments in his own field or fields of interest may find new or different information and interpretation that will deepen and sharpen his own understanding. From the diverse views and the conflicting theses, he might even perceive possibilities of new syntheses.

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ZUR THEORIE DER WELTGESCHICHTE. By *Alfred Heuss*. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1968. Pp. 83. DM 6.80.)

HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS: OR THE REMEMBERED PAST. By *John Lukacs*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1968. Pp. viii, 373. \$7.95.)

ALFRED Heuss's pamphlet consists of three papers delivered at Freiburg in late 1967. They all pertain to the problem of *Weltgeschichte*: the first deals with the prospect for a universal history; the second continues with the method of such a history; the last evaluates Max Weber's place in the comparative study of the histories of the world. The collection is balanced, moderate, and well written. According to Heuss, universal history is much talked about, but little is known of its method. Such history cannot be the mere assemblage of particular histories; nor, as a totality, can it be completely comprehended. Yet it is a necessary ideal for our aspiration. In the pursuit of this ideal, we must methodically sift out the specific preconceptions and biases of our own religion and nationality. Weber's ideal-type approach to comparative history is indicative of the widening horizon of the West toward the world. Though his work is not universal history, it has contributed much toward that ideal.

The theme of John Lukacs' work is the redefinition of history as historical consciousness. History is not just what happened in the past; it is the past remembered. The author considers this a unique achievement in the twentieth-century West. The central core of Lukacs' argument occurs in Chapters III through VI: the relations between facts and history, between fiction and history; the fundamental significance of human motives and purposes in historical "causation"; the role of man and of national character underlying the various idealist schemes for economic, social, and political histories; the importance of imagination, memory, and free will in this reoriented historical consciousness. The argument, though not original, is cogent and sometimes provides considerable insight. Yet the author's style is rambling and discursive; the book needs the pruning of a good editor.

The *Weltgeschichte* of Heuss plays an important part in the rethinking of history in postwar Germany. Conscious of the former tie between *Historismus* and political conservatism, it seeks to reorient history beyond the national confines. Yet, one senses that the burden of idealistic categories of thought still weighs too heavily. Somehow, this idealist approach must be avoided. If there is any prospect of a *Weltgeschichte*, it must be approached in terms of the real convergence, in the twentieth-century world, between a technocratically based social structure and an intersubjective mass consciousness.

The historical consciousness of Lukacs stems from a legitimate, though by now dated, grievance against an earlier preoccupation with traditional historical method. Much fruitful work has been done in the reorientation of postwar historiography. Here Lukacs appears not too sympathetic. He bases his attack on traditional Christian humanism. He can be very persuasive in his attempt to restore the central role of man to human history. I would suggest, however, that, if history is a form of consciousness, then Lukacs should pursue the phenomenological analysis of time-consciousness and seek its relevance for historical knowledge of the past.

In a sense, the aspiration and limitation of each of these works indicate the trend in present-day historiography, a field that exhibits ferment and commotion. There is talk about psychoanalysis and quantitative analysis, but progress is slow; it is hard to think new thoughts. The profession should be willing to train a new generation of historiographers who are acquainted not only with social science methods but also with the

methodological difference between history and the social sciences and who are familiar with the philosophies of Wittgenstein and Husserl.

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DONALD M. LOWE

HISTORICAL STUDIES: PAPERS READ BEFORE THE IRISH CONFERENCE OF HISTORIANS. Volume VI, DUBLIN, 2-5 JUNE 1965. By *K. M. Drake et al.* Edited by *T. W. Moody*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1968. Pp. viii, 182. \$6.50.)

THE eight papers in this volume cover diverse subjects (political, constitutional, and economic) and periods (medieval, Tudor, modern). Four of the contributors are from Irish universities, three from English universities, one from the University of Giessen (Hesse).

Professor Herbert Ludat is concerned with relations between the emerging Polish state and the medieval Empire. He views the agreement between the Piast Duke Boleslaw I and Emperor Otto III at Gnesen in the year 1000 not as an acknowledgment on Otto's part of any Polish national sovereignty but as an acceptance by the Piast dynasty of a major role in Ottonian universal-Christian imperial policy. Dr. J. W. Gray discusses attempts of the English episcopate in the thirteenth century to use excommunication in support of Magna Carta and in defense of ecclesiastical liberties, the reluctance of the barons to associate themselves wholeheartedly with the bishops, and the papal policy of relying on the royal *voluntas* rather than on canonical sanctions against the crown. Miss Christine Meek concludes the medieval contributions with an account of the trade and industry of Lucca in the fourteenth century, chronicling particularly the fortunes of the silk industry.

Professor Dudley Edwards investigates the Irish reformation Parliament of 1536-1537. For the author it marks the beginning of successful independent opposition; bills were in certain cases modified in an "Irish" sense or even abandoned, a procedure adopted to a greater extent under Elizabeth.

The remaining papers belong to the modern period, one in English, one in French, and two in Irish history. Professor Charles Wilson, in "Government Policy and Private Interest in Modern English History," argues that economic legislation owed more to government decisions made on the basis of what they considered the national interest than to the influence of private lobbies. He draws his evidence both from the mercantilist period and from the battle for free trade; he contends that the effective advocates of free trade were the Benthamite bureaucracy in the Board of Trade under Poulett Thompson, not business opinion, which was hopelessly split on the issue.

Professor Goodwin's most interesting survey of the recent historiography of the French Revolution begins with a tribute to Georges Lefebvre. He appraises in particular the work of P. Bois and C. Tilly on the counterrevolutionary peasantry of the Catholic west of France and, on the popular movement in Paris from June 1793 to *Thermidor*, the studies by such historians as Georges Rudé, A. Soboul, R. Cobb, and K. D. Tønnesson. Readers of the articles in the *AHR*, LXXI (Oct. 1965), 77-103, and LXXII (Jan. 1967), 469-522, will find Goodwin's comments of special interest.

Dr. K. M. Drake is unable, because of the paucity of statistics, to quantify the Irish demographic crisis of 1740-1741, which he sees as a notable division in modern Irish history since it was followed by a period of rapid population growth. He suggests that the mortality may have been greater than in the famine of the 1840's. The latter did take place in a Europe free from subsistence crises, but it should be added that the accom-

panying massive emigration helps to explain why the Great Famine is regarded as such a terrible disaster.

Professor T. W. Moody has provided a lucid account of a *cause célèbre*, the *Times* allegation that Parnell and others condoned the Phoenix Park murders of 1882. The dramatic highlights may be familiar, but Moody's careful analysis of the mass of evidence, set out in the agreeably apposite form of question and answer, enables him to show, among other matters, that the government was guilty of collusion. He has underlined the extraordinary character of the episode, a special commission of "three judges trying a social and political revolution," and its value in demonstrating the Parnellite dilemma arising from a simultaneous appeal both to constitutionalists and to revolutionaries.

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JOHN W. BOYLE

DOUBLE JEOPARDY: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A LEGAL AND SOCIAL POLICY. By Jay A. Sigler. [Cornell Studies in Civil Liberty.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1969. Pp. x, 264. \$9.75.)

THE Fifth Amendment of the US Constitution provides that no person shall "be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb," and jeopardy clauses, with various phrasing, are included in most state constitutions. In the few states whose constitutions are silent on the subject, the courts apply common-law rules. Double jeopardy doctrine was once characterized by Justice Frankfurter as "part of the protection of the Constitution against pressures and penalties that offend civilized notions of justice." The reports of state appellate courts contain much rhetoric describing the double jeopardy principle as an invaluable protection against the hazards and vexations of repeated prosecutions by government, which is always the stronger party in a criminal case. Nevertheless, of all constitutional rights secured to the accused, this right is the most technical, the least understood, the most ineffective, and in the greatest state of confusion. The double jeopardy principle has been described as both "moribund" and "illusory," and, indeed, it has been asserted that it is not even a rule of law but at best a mere declaration of a public policy that is often disregarded because of overruling considerations of public policy.

In view of this situation, it is certainly time that a competent scholar should produce a full-length analytical and historical study of the concept. Professor Sigler has done this with excellent scholarship and insight into the policy considerations that are involved. The opening chapter of this book, which describes the history of double jeopardy, makes the point that as an English common-law doctrine it is not quite as ancient as is commonly supposed, the author finding the first stirrings of the modern doctrine only late in the fifteenth century, and the first adequate description of it in Coke's *Institutes* (1642). The second chapter summarizes federal double jeopardy policy, and the next reviews its content in the states, all of which is supported by thorough and careful documentation. The fourth chapter reviews the concept in other countries around the world and calls attention both to its universality and to the various meanings attached to it. In the next chapter the author explores the power of the public prosecutor, an emphasis altogether proper, since the power of the public prosecutor presents the main policy issues that relate to the law-in-action aspect of double jeopardy doctrine.

A final chapter presents a critique of double jeopardy law and offers suggestions for reform. Sigler effectively analyzes the main inadequacies in current doctrine, such as the exposure of the individual to both federal and state prosecution for the same crimi-

nal act, or the wide discretion of the prosecutor to subject a person to successive trials for different offenses arising out of the same event. He believes that the path of reform is in the direction of legislative modernization and restatement, not only of the law relating to double jeopardy but also of the whole corpus of criminal law. Judges, bogged down in the precedents of the past, can at best improve the situation only piecemeal and very slowly. Legislative reform is long overdue, and this fine book may well hasten the process of change.

University of Wisconsin

DAVID FELLMAN

THE WHITE CONSCIENCE. By *Frank H. Tucker*. (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company. 1968. Pp. x, 353. \$7.50.)

THIS book should never have been published in its present form. It is an attempt to analyze relations between the West and the non-West over the past four hundred years, and especially during the past century. Taking the position that "imperialism, racism, and totalitarianism" have been closely related—a point unobjectionable in itself—it proceeds, under the influence of Jungian psychology, to suggest that all "white" men share a collective guilt for atrocities committed by other people with the same ascribed skin color.

If this argument had been well drawn and based on a serious review of the evidence, it might have deserved a hearing, in spite of the dubious assumption that any part of mankind can legitimately be treated as an entity on account of its complexion. As it is, the author's analysis is both naïve and superficial. He considers a great sweep of history, but his bibliography shows that his reading of the literature was inadequate in quantity and erratic in selection. For tropical Africa, for example, he lists only a half-dozen titles, most of which are elementary textbooks. The result is a series of elementary factual errors that are not, apparently, an intentional distortion of the evidence but simply a failure to understand it. Why, otherwise, should he introduce the curious theory that Liverpool slavers took the slaves from Africa to their home port before re-shipping them to the West Indies? Or, why should he bother to accuse the humanitarian Sierra Leone Company of participation in the slave trade when so many genuine slavers are available? It is unfortunate that error is not confined to the periphery of the subject. The author is also badly informed about matters as central to his theme as the origins of pseudoscientific racism and its actual role in European imperial policies.

University of Wisconsin

PHILIP D. CURTIN

THE ORIGINS OF MODERN TOWN PLANNING. By *Leonardo Benevolo*. Translated by *Judith Landry*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1967. Pp. xiv, 154, 16 plates. \$5.50.)

THIS small book is surely not a work for specialists in the history of city planning. It may, nevertheless, interest political historians and be a useful assignment for courses in "urban" history. The planning specialist will still have to turn to Pierre Lavedan; the student of politics to William Ashworth and David Pinkney. Yet Benevolo discusses the work of such figures as J. B. Godin, whose practical contribution to planning is not widely known outside France, and, more important, he presents the outline of a weighty argument on the relation of planning to politics.

Benevolo, an architectural historian at Venice, seeks "to correlate developments" in architecture and planning "to the basic changes in the political scene between 1815 and

1850, and particularly to the crisis of 1848." After a somewhat superficial and dated sketch of the growth of the industrial town, he explores the period of "great expectations," 1815-1848. Most of this is familiar ground: Owen and the cooperative movement, the school of Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Cabet and their influence. The most interesting case, perhaps, is the industrialist Godin's *Familistère*, built at Guise between 1859 and 1870: an adaptation of Fourier's ideas to a manufacturing rather than an agricultural locale and organized along family instead of communal lines. The author concludes, however, that the specialists who introduced the health regulations and other services to the industrial towns, rather than the practical utopians, "laid the real foundations of modern town-planning legislation." They "had to find the technical and legalistic means to implement these improvements."

The emphasis on legal problems of land acquisition goes to the core of Benevolo's political argument on "1848 and its consequences." The third quarter of the century saw not only many examples of workers' settlements built by capitalists but also large-scale public works in major centers: the Ringstrasse in Vienna, the redevelopment of Barcelona and Florence, the works of Anspach in Brussels, Bazalgette in London, and, of course, Haussmann in Paris. These triumphs of technique, like the revival of geometric design in the formless mass cities, represented an essentially paternalistic reaction, and it "was in this attenuated form that the contribution of socialist theorists was adopted by the new conservatives." By 1850, for instance, Haussmann thought it necessary "to unite, under the standard of law and order, by means of a just conciliation of decent and impartial opinions, all men whole-heartedly dedicated to the good of the country. . . ." When backed by Louis Napoleon's power, this "end of ideology" notion relieved Haussmann of the need to justify urban renewal activity politically and afforded him a comfortable belief, in Benevolo's phrase, "that planning measures were indeed reducible to mere technical and administrative calculations." Yet Haussmann's technocratic mind could never understand why landlords and not "the Municipality" reaped the beneficial effect of public works on land and other property values. His abstract right of the *Cité* was not upheld against the concrete right of citizens: *the* right, as Ferry and the Liberals asserted, "consistently recognized by our laws."

The political Left also failed to grasp this "contradiction" between the techniques of planning and their conservative implementation. In the *Wohnungsfrage* Engels dismissed workers' housing experiments as mere capitalist exploitation. Not before William Morris did the Left begin to rediscover links between the aesthetic, the technical, and the political. Then, just as mid-century conservatives had utilized the technical plans of utopians divorced from their social innovations, so early twentieth-century reformers developed conservative plans "in a sense completely contrary to that of their original conception." Thus the *cités ouvrières*, the model English villages, and the Krupp settlements were "links in a chain of experiments" leading to Tony Garnier's *cités industrielles*, the districts designed by H. P. Berlage, and the *Siedlungen* of Frankfurt and Vienna. The copious quotations and many striking illustrations and plates cannot sustain the turns in Benevolo's complex dialectic, but they do furnish an incentive to closer specification of the linkages and more thoroughgoing historical research. That is the virtue of the book.

University of Wisconsin

ERIC E. LAMPARD

Ancient

CHARITIES AND SOCIAL AID IN GREECE AND ROME. By *A. R. Hands*. [Aspects of Greek and Roman Life.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1968. Pp. 222. \$6.50.)

THIS interesting and illuminating book makes clear one of the most fundamental of the attitudes and concepts of Greco-Roman antiquity: the giving and returning of gifts. It is a worthy addition to the fine series, "Aspects of Greek and Roman Life," edited by Professor H. H. Scullard and sponsored by Thames and Hudson, the London publishers. It is slightly unfortunate that the title is misleading, for the book probes much deeper than it suggests into one of the basic attitudes of society in antiquity and goes far to explain its role in the whole social fabric. To give a gift was never a disinterested act; in fact, its whole purpose was the return expected—a return tangible and material. Scholars and generalists interested in antiquity should read this book as a salutary warning about applying contemporary constructs to past cultures.

Chapters III and IV are the highlights of Mr. Hands's book and set forth clearly and intelligently the moral framework of gift giving and return. The gift imposes a moral, nearly contractual obligation on the recipient to return the gift, usually on the terms of the donor. It is this attitude that underlies such institutions as the client-patron relationship, the liturgy system (voluntary undertaking of civic duties), the host-guest relationship, and others. Chapters V through IX apply this analysis and deal with various areas in which gifts were made or foundations established to benefit others. The discussion of attitudes toward the poor in antiquity is particularly helpful and illuminating. After the useful notes, there follow translations of all or parts of eighty-one documents relevant to the discussions of the text.

I have a few small points to criticize. Parallels to English charity law, cited frequently, do not always seem relevant, and I would have preferred more anthropological observation. The style is burdened with too much citation in the text of previous scholarly opinion. A book of this sort does not need this, and Hands should not be so diffident about his own conclusions. I do not think the translations of the documents helpful for the general reader (each needs so much explanation and commentary), and they are needless for the scholar. Hands has, nonetheless, written such a fine introduction to the subject of gifts and giving that I hope he will eventually provide us with a full-scale treatment, including the commentary on these documents.

Duke University

JOHN F. OATES

ARCHIVES FROM ELEPHANTINE: THE LIFE OF AN ANCIENT JEWISH MILITARY COLONY. By *Bezalel Porten*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. xxi, 421. \$12.50.)

CONTAINED in this book is a series of discussions, some on broad topics and others on details, about the Elephantine papyri of the fifth century B.C. The main sections are: Part I on politics and economics, Part II on religion, and Part III on family and communal life. There is also a wealth of excursions and notes. The documentation, indexing, and bibliography are rich. This book is a "must" for anyone interested in the Jewish community based on the island of Elephantine in the Nile, just below Aswan.

The main problem, historically, is the origin of the military and commercial colony of Aramaic Jews at the key point between Egypt and Nubia. As the gateway to

the south, Elephantine was important for the trade and defense of Egypt. Local Egyptians were not considered as reliable as foreigners for looking after the interests of Egypt's rulers. When Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525 B.C., he found the Jewish colonists already established there in the role that they were to continue under their new Persian masters.

The author thinks the colony was founded around 650 B.C. by Jews dispatched by Manasseh, king of Judah. This theory fails, however, to reckon with the fact that the Elephantine colony used Aramaic and was ignorant of Hebrew. We know from both the Bible and Lachish ostraca (ca. 587 B.C.) that linguistically Judah was solidly Hebrew, and not Aramaic, until long after Manasseh's reign. There is no reason for supposing, moreover, that Manasseh ever supplied mercantile personnel to his Assyrian overlords.

The solution to the problem lies in another direction. The Aramaic language of Elephantine is to be sought in Aram (that is, Syria), not in Judah. We know of earlier Jews in Aram professionally skilled in operating commercial-military colonies. Solomon, who ruled a commercial empire, settled Israelites in the north (II Chron. 8:2) and was interested in controlling key points in Aram such as Hamath and the caravan city of Palmyra (vv. 3-4). From all we know of ancient Near Eastern society, such settlers belonged to guilds dedicated to running combined commercial and military establishments. The union of armed forces and mercantile personnel is attested in documents such as those from Ugarit (texts 400:III:6, VI:17); indeed merchants without military support are singled out (text 1035:4-5) to call attention to the important omission.

When Solomon's empire disintegrated around 935 B.C. and even the homeland was split into the two hostile kingdoms of Israel and Judah, Solomon's Aramean provinces were lost. His colonists were then cut off from the Jewish mainstream and remained unaffected by subsequent developments in the homeland. Linguistically, they became Aramaized, but at the same time they clung to their Jewish and professional identity and offered their guild services to world emperors such as the Assyrian and Achaemenian kings, who employed them where they were needed. This answers all the requirements of the Elephantine colony and is in keeping with the ancient sources (see *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XIV [Spring 1955], 56-58). Porten's hypothesis is contradicted by the thoroughly Aramaic and non-Hebraic character of the colony, which he himself admits is a salient factor.

This criticism, though on a major historic aspect of the Elephantine colony, in no way detracts from the general value of this scholarly and many-sided book. The author has gone to the primary sources and given us an interesting as well as a worthwhile introduction to one of the most important archives of all antiquity.

Brandeis University

CYRUS H. GORDON

ROMAN POLITICS AND THE CRIMINAL COURTS, 149-78 B.C. By *Erich S. Gruen*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 337. \$11.50.)

This study of the inner workings of Roman politics illuminates an obscure period. Courts and trials are examined for their bearing upon politics, especially political factions. Gruen has managed a near-perfect balance between the two rigid studies of the preceding period and the somewhat formless *Res Publica Amissa* of C. Meier. In his conclusion, Gruen says, "Factions were fuzzy around their edges. Individual loyalties were ambiguous, sometimes manifold, and changing patterns were characteristic of

the era. But patterns there were. Close examination reveals continuity in the flux." The arguments are almost always convincing. (Incidentally, the introduction should not be skipped; it presages the book's sane approach.) There is an emphasis on the role of the equites, especially as jurors in political trials, and on the political impact of wars, both foreign and civil.

A work of this scope inevitably produces disagreement. Gruen usually forms admirable independent views, but he has allowed A. E. Astin to lead him into an overly severe attitude toward Scipio Aemilianus. Anyone who had such friends and who could be such a hero to a humanist like Cicero deserves better treatment. The argument that G. Gracchus and the younger Drusus passed *leges ne quis iudicio circumveniretur* merely to forestall some future possibility is unacceptable, and, in the case of Gracchus, extremely improbable because the assembly would have had to authorize a *quaestio extraordinarius* with senators as jurymen.

It is too bad that my recent book, *The Gracchi*, did not appear sooner; Gruen did not really need it, but serial production would have been better. The combination of views on the *s.c. ultimum* of 121 B.C. is better, for example, than either account separately. Nor would Gruen have misunderstood my point about the relationship between C. Fannius and G. Gracchus. He apparently revised his view of Fannius in mid-course, but only in one place, on page 93, does his view accord exactly with my own; references on pages 67 and 113 are basically contradictory.

The book carefully and accurately traces the rise of the Metelli and their *factio*. I think, however, that the Scipionian faction disintegrated less completely than is suggested and that a strong remnant led by the Drusi and M. Aemilius Scaurus collaborated with the Metelli; they were not absorbed as individuals. This view explains with much less embarrassment the relationship between the younger Livius Drusus and L. Licinius Crassus and Q. Mucius Scaevola.

Other questions: Was Aemilius Scaurus a "*novus homo*"? Was there "an inflationary readjustment of the coinage" during the Social War? The actual coins do not show it. Gratidianus apparently did nothing more than put down a local panic caused by counterfeits. Did Marius run for consul in 88 B.C.? Surely the silence of Plutarch and Appian counts for more than Diodorus' misunderstanding.

All defects are minor in relation to the mass. Gruen's judgments are informed and well reasoned. This is an excellent book.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

HENRY C. BOREN

Medieval

HANDBUCH DER BAYERISCHEN GESCHICHTE. Volume I, DAS ALTE BAYERN: DAS STAMMESHERZOGTUM BIS ZUM AUSGANG DES 12. JAHRHUNDERTS. Edited by Max Spindler. In collaboration with Franz Brunhölzl et al. (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1967. Pp. xxxiv, 629. DM 82.)

EUROPEAN universities seem to have retained their aversion to textbooks, although there is an increasing need to bridge the gap between the level of traditional continental scholarship as presented in monographs and the actual necessity of students to have a practical guideline. This handbook follows its model, the well-known "Gebhardt," in catering to this need as well as that of the historian not specialized in the field. In this

case the text received considerable preference. Thus, the work can be regarded as a genuine synthesis of the history of Bavaria, the first since 1906.

The editors plan to publish the handbook in four volumes: this one treats the old Bavaria up to 1180; Volume II will cover the later Middle Ages and early modern times; Volume III, the history of the territories beyond the old duchy which became part of the kingdom of Bavaria, the last two centuries of which are to be dealt with in the final volume. It is to be hoped that the subsequent volumes will follow soon and that libraries will not have to list one more torso among historical enterprises.

Volume I begins with the prehistory of the area and proceeds to Celtic and Roman times in the region between the Alps and the Danube. There follow surveys of the beginnings of the tribal era, the duchy of the Agilolfing family, and the first waves of Christianization. Most of the volume is devoted to the three centuries between A.D. 788 and 1180, for which period separate chapters are focused on the political history of the territory and its relationship to the rest of Germany and its eastern and southern neighbors, on the internal development of Bavarian society, church, and economy, and, finally, on the intellectual life of medieval Bavaria, with articles on learning and literature (both Latin and vernacular) and two regrettably short ones on art and music.

As far as one can judge such an amount of amassed information, the editor and authors did a good job. Their subject matter, the territory called "Bavaria," must have challenged them several times as its meaning underwent numerous changes through the thirteen centuries of its history. While, therefore, the frame of reference had to be kept rather flexible, the chapters are still pretty well concentrated on problems and developments of the particular area being reviewed. Some bibliographic entries on imperial history or general research tools could perhaps have been omitted. The greatest value of the handbook lies, probably, in its being up to date. Publications as recent as 1967, some even of 1968, are not only listed, but their results are incorporated into the discussion. This is true, for instance, of Werner's book on the origins of principdom (1967), Semmler's article on the last years of Duke Tassilo III (1967), Wolfram's book on the *Intitulatio* of early medieval characters (1967), and Bosl's research on the social structure of Regensburg (1966). References to the histories of eastern and south-eastern neighbors are not as current, and the editor obviously tried to limit mention of books in languages not generally known in Germany.

Handbooks seem to favor political history, and perhaps this is the greatest shortcoming of Spindler's work also. Although the intellectual history is well presented, it is rather isolated from the rest, and the structural problems of society and economy are least exhaustively treated.

The information on sources and literature is, as with the Gebhardt work, one of the major aims of the handbook: each chapter and the forty-two subchapters open with a bibliography that is augmented by footnotes referring to special research and takes up 25 to 30 per cent of the total volume. A summary bibliography on the main sources and publications of Bavarian history and a general index add to the usefulness of the handbook. In this genre, however, the number and size of the indexes can never be too great; an alphabetical list of authors mentioned in the bibliographies, perhaps further subject headings, and a numerical list of manuscripts cited would be welcome additions. It would be a great service to historical scholarship should the other great traditional territories of Germany embark upon a similar enterprise and present such a thorough and reliable tool for research.

Vancouver, British Columbia

J. M. BAK

A HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL CHRISTIANITY: PROPHECY & ORDER. By *Jeffrey Burton Russell*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1968. Pp. vii, 216. \$5.95.)

DESPITE its modest length, this study offers the reader not only an introduction to medieval Christianity but a stimulating interpretation of the role of Christianity in medieval society as well. While it displays a sound command of the literature in the diverse fields surveyed, an occasional judgment could be questioned. The scholarly debate about Constantine's conversion is ill-summarized by the conclusion that probably he was always a pagan. Recent revisionist studies deny that Siger de Brabant taught a doctrine of double truth or that Duns Scotus can be presented as *prima-facie* evidence of late medieval decline.

But this book is not a compendium, and it deserves a better fate than to be treated as one. The author quite rightly refuses to tear the medieval Church out of its social context. Vivid passages describe bishops and abbots as landlords and politicians.

Russell's careful distinction between historical and theological judgments spares the reader futile rhetorical ventures. After the study has described the development of ecclesiastical institutions, it leaves to the theologian judgments about growth or decline, purity or corruption.

The most important interpretive theme—the suggestion that medieval Christianity is the result of the interplay of prophecy and order—is the least successfully executed. The definition of these forces, indistinct at best, could have been clarified by a comparison with the typologies proposed by the Weber-Troeltsch school. The problem is, however, more than one of definition. Jesus and primitive Christianity are put down on the prophetic side, although the study eventually concedes that the Church was from its inception “organized.” Rather arbitrarily, popes are said to represent order; founders of religious orders, prophecy. At times the dichotomy is imposed on the material, while at other times it is compromised beyond recognizable usefulness.

The author proposes that the violence involved in the crusades, anti-Semitism, and similar phenomena was generated by an overdose of prophetic religion. The suggestion that these episodes did not result from the pollution of pure religion by foreign forces but that they arose out of the very wellsprings of prophetic religion is deserving of further critical elaboration.

In sum, the study is a sound textbook, and, beyond that, it raises crucial historiographical issues. Opinions may vary as to its success in dealing with those issues, but none can withhold praise for the quality of the questions posed.

Bowdoin College

PAUL L. NYHUS

THE MAKING OF EARLY ENGLAND. By *D. P. Kirby*. (New York: Schocken Books. 1968. Pp. 320. \$9.00.)

IN this volume of the series entitled “The Fabric of British History,” Dr. Kirby has written a useful and convincing survey of Anglo-Saxon history. Unencumbered with footnotes or other scholarly apparatus, the book will be of great value for the general reader with some preliminary knowledge of the subject or to the advanced student seeking an introduction to detailed work in this period. A detailed and critical bibliography makes the work even more valuable for the latter reader.

Kirby's work is an expert synthesis of political, cultural, social, and ecclesiastical history, all encompassed within a conveniently short framework. The book is well or-

ganized and clearly written. Beginning with the last years of the Roman province Britain, Kirby provides interesting evidence for his belief that the Anglo-Saxon conquest of England was neither easy nor rapid. Making the best of difficult source problems, Kirby continues to give us a clear picture of events and trends as he discusses the periods of conquest, conversion, and the formation of the pre-Viking, Heptarchic kingdoms.

A large mass of political and ecclesiastical detail is here welded into a unified and coherent whole. We are always made aware that a wholly new social and political structure is being fabricated here, both consciously and unconsciously, and that this construction laid the solid foundation for the survival of Anglo-Saxon England in the hour of its supreme peril. The seeming miracle of an Alfred the Great is shown to result from many centuries of careful preparation, and the triumphant reconquest of the Viking Danelaw is seen as the natural re-expansion of a basically well-structured English monarchy and society. In concluding the first part of his work, Kirby takes the position, also advanced by Hollister and others, that the Anglo-Saxon foundation was so complete throughout English society as to limit the "Norman Revolution" to the creation of a new and continental overstructure designed for political and military domination. The second and final portion of the work is devoted to a brief but expert summary of social and cultural history during the Anglo-Saxon period.

Placed between the short surveys of Blair and Whitelock and the magisterial works of Sir Frank Stenton, Collingwood and Myres, and R. H. Hodgkin, Kirby's study makes a valuable contribution to the literature of a complex and controversial period.

Beaver College

REGINALD BRILL

FODRUM, GISTUM, SERVITIUM REGIS: STUDIEN ZU DEN WIRTSCHAFTLICHEN GRUNDLAGEN DES KÖNIGTUMS IM FRANKENREICH UND IN DEN FRÄNKISCHEN NACHFOLGESTAATEN DEUTSCHLAND, FRANKREICH UND ITALIEN VOM 6. BIS ZUR MITTE DES 14. JAHRHUNDERTS. Volume I, TEXT; Volume II, REGISTER UND KARTEN. By *Carlrichard Brühl*. [Kölner historische Abhandlungen, Number 14, Parts 1 and 2.] (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1968. Pp. xiv, 778; 780-932. DM 180 the set.)

THIS very large and impressive study by Professor Brühl tells how kings and emperors in the period between the sixth and fourteenth century arranged for the shelter and provisioning of their households or entourages. German medievalists have labeled these arrangements *Königsgastung*; French medievalists, *gîte et couvert*. The first volume comprises 778 pages with well over 3,500 notes filling two-thirds of each page. The second volume of 154 pages has 60 devoted to bibliography, 6 to abbreviations, 8 to a register of sources, 6 to a list of authors cited, 3 to *addenda et corrigenda*, and the rest to an index of terms and places. Buttressing this huge collection of data are 7 maps with learned explanations. By concerning himself with such problems as the origins of what the Latin records call *servitium regis* in Germany, *gistum regis* in France, and *corredum regis* in Sicily, the organization of provisioning, the nature and size of royal entourages, the significance of the royal palace, the development of royal capitals, and the extent, frequency, and objectives of royal itineraries, and by using an effective comparative approach, Brühl has written what will certainly be the definitive study of this subject.

There is much new material in this study, and that which is not new often derives new meaning from the comparative method. The Merovingian and Carolingian rul-

ers lived almost exclusively on the income from produce derived from their lands and seldom traveled at the expense of the Church. The Carolingians dwelt only infrequently in the old *civitates*; they preferred residing in such royal villas as Herstal, Quierzy, Thionville, and Aachen, which was truly the *sedes regni* of the Carolingian state from 794 to 830. After the Carolingian Empire disintegrated, the Church in Germany remained relatively free from the obligation of providing lodging and food, but this was not so in France. Charles the Bald habitually celebrated feast days at abbeys, and his successors assembled synods at abbeys in order to discuss political and religious questions. Because most of the royal entourages, which ranged from two hundred to a thousand people, journeyed an average of twenty to thirty kilometers per day, it is argued that medieval rulers appeared to be free to choose their residences. This rejects traditional opinion that medieval rulers had to sojourn successively on their own domains and upon those of their vassals so as to consume the produce on the spot. It is contended that what determined the royal itinerary and place of residence were political considerations and that provisions were transported to the place where the ruler wished to reside. Whereas in post-Carolingian Germany no place or town emerged as *the* capital, in France, Paris so emerged during the twelfth century, while Reims became the place of coronation and Saint-Denis the place of royal burial. While in Germany *servitium regis* remained a public obligation of the greater landed subjects, in France it became a feudal obligation. It is interesting to note that the Lombard kings preferred to live in the old Roman towns and that their itineraries followed the network of Roman roads. Economic historians will not be surprised to learn that commutation of money payments for produce in kind began in Italy toward the end of the eleventh century, in France during the twelfth century, and in Germany during the thirteenth century, thus reflecting the tempo of the reviving economy of Western Europe. Although it is well known that the Capetian kings of the eleventh century were incredibly weak when compared to their Salian counterparts, this knowledge stands out in *bas-relief* when one pores over the itineraries of these kings. The journeys of the Capetians were limited to an area bordered by Saint-Omer, Beauvais, Tours, Sens, Reims, and Lille; those of the Salians ranged from Hungary to Cambrai and from the Netherlands to Rome. By the time of St. Louis, however, the situation was reversed with the French kings traveling throughout most of France while the German rulers limited their travels to certain regions of Germany.

The very erudition of this work compels one to ask whether so much learned paraphernalia had to be displayed. Could not this valuable material have been digested and presented in a simpler, more compact form? In laboriously reading this study, one is convinced that medievalists are still attempting to prove to scholars of modern and contemporary history that the Middle Ages also has "a few records" to study.

Brown University

BRYCE LYON

HISPANIC LAW UNTIL THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES. With a note on the continued validity after the fifteenth century of medieval Hispanic legislation in Spain, the Americas, Asia, and Africa. By E. N. van Kleffens. (Edinburgh: [Edinburgh University Press;] distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1968. Pp. viii, 382. \$9.75.)

UNABLE to find an English work on the legal history of Spain from St. Isidore to Vitoria, Professor van Kleffens decided to write one. He has bitten off a little too much. The author claims that his work is "unashamedly interdisciplinary." It is not. The political

history is superficial, and there is little attempt to deal with political theory or social history. The chief interest of the work is the *Siete Partidas*: 171 pages, of which 82 are an English translation of the table of contents, deal directly with that compilation, leaving 202 pages for everything else. In part the author's problem lies with his understanding of the word "Hispanic," which he, unfortunately, equates with Castilian. To include a brief survey of the legal structure of the Crowns of Aragon and *al-Andalus* and to dismiss developments within Portugal is indefensible in a work dealing with Hispanic law. "Spain," "Iberia," "Hispania," and other such designations were, in the Middle Ages, geographical and not political terms. One may legitimately write about the significance of Castilian legislation, but, when one chooses to write about Hispanic law, Portugal and the Crowns of Aragon must be granted equal time. Because the author failed to grasp the full extent of Iberian particularism, he failed to see the importance of the use of the imperial title by the Leonese and Castilian kings. The predominant interest in medieval Castile leads the author not only to hurry through the initial chapters but also to skim over the legal developments within the Aragonese polity. There is no mention, for example, of the legal significance of King Reccared's conversion, while equating the Aragonese *Justicia* with an ombudsman, or worse, a "super-ombudsman," is impossible. There is no mention of the significance of the Frankish law in the development of the Catalanian *Usatjes*, while the influence of Catalan concepts on the development of Aragonese law is overstated. The author presents no bibliography although there is a superficial essay at the beginning of the work; the footnotes contain only limited information and are, in many ways, an extension of the introductory bibliographical remarks. The author has used the *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, which is a gold mine, but has not mentioned the *Anuario de derecho aragonese*, *España Sagrada*, *Hispania Sacra*, and so forth.

Van Kleffens has written a good account of the development and lasting significance of the Castilian legal tradition. We still need a work dealing with the history of the development of Hispanic law.

Adelphi University

J. LEE SHNEIDMAN

INVESTIGACIONES SOBRE HISTORIOGRAFÍA ESPAÑA MEDIEVAL (SIGLOS VIII AL XII). By *Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz*. (Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto de Historia de España. 1967. Pp. 418.)

THIS is a collection of articles published by the author in a variety of journals over the past thirty-nine years. Inevitably, the format produces a repetition of argument that is irritating, a progression that is uneven and difficult to follow, and a presentation of views that are sometimes later modified. In addition, the volume lacks an index which would be especially helpful in such a case. But if the volume has the vices of its virtues, the virtues are splendid indeed.

It makes available in convenient form for the student of early Spanish historiography the corpus of this most outstanding scholar on the subject. It takes us deep into the acute textual criticism, into the presentation of the transmission of manuscripts, and into the literature of the subject in a fashion difficult to sustain or to match in a single work. What is more, it generates its own kind of excitement in following a sensitive and perceptive intellect as it crosses and recrosses very old trails indeed to arrive, time after time, at major deductions that become route markers for all subsequent scholarship.

Roughly the first half of the book deals with the problems of the chronicles of the period of Alfonso III *el Magno* (866–911) of Asturias. In this, the most authoritative section of the work, the problems of the authorship, the dating, and the relationships of the *Crónica de Alfonso III*, the *Crónica de Albelda*, and the *Chronicon Rotense* are explored and plotted in a fashion that will probably prove definitive barring the discovery of new manuscripts. In addition, Sánchez-Albornoz convincingly and imaginatively reconstructs the outlines of an earlier, lost Asturian chronicle of the period of Alfonso II (791–842), on which this later cycle drew.

The final third of the book does much the same for the even more complicated relationships between late classical, Visigothic, Muslim, and Christian Spanish chronicles. While more work remains to be done in this field, the author establishes the credibility and examines the sources and influence of the *Crónica del moro Rasis* of the early tenth century.

A brief forty-odd pages on some problems of the *Historia Silense*, written in the early twelfth century, provide slim justification for the title of the work. While Sánchez-Albornoz' comments are perceptive as ever, the very considerable histories of the twelfth century remain untreated.

As this volume illustrates, Sánchez-Albornoz, more than any other single man, has brought us within striking distance of a comprehensive and complete account of medieval Spanish historiography. The major gap is, precisely, the twelfth century, which would connect the period explored here and the brilliance of thirteenth-century developments. In so doing he also reaffirms in a particular fashion two old verities of Spanish medieval studies: the enduring contribution of Muslim Spain and Christian Spain's ever-present consciousness of solidarity with its classical and Visigothic past.

Villanova University

BERNARD F. REILLY

NOMADS, NORTHMEN AND SLAVS: EASTERN EUROPE IN THE NINTH CENTURY. By *Imre Boba*. [Slavo-Orientalia: Monographienreihe über die Wechselbeziehungen zwischen der slavischen und orientalischen Welt, Number 2.] (The Hague: Mouton. 1967. Pp. 138.)

THE ever-changing political, ethnographic, and cultural criteria, rather than clear geographic concepts, have always been predominant in defining the Eastern European area, rendering it subject to loose interpretations. In this work, what is viewed as Eastern Europe is not the territories north and northeast of the Byzantine-controlled regions, and east of the Carolingian boundaries, but a part of the Russian Plain only. The territorial scope is limited roughly by the Volga or the Don in the east, and the right bank of the Dnieper, with Kiev, in the west. In the drama of the ninth century, the Scandinavian Varangians, and the various Finno-Ugric, Altaic, and Turkic nomad groups, play the leading roles, while the Eastern Slavs are left in the background. The result is a work that concentrates on a limited area, presents it outside its historical context, and is composed rather like a compilation of unprocessed research notes. Yet this work is not without its value. Along with the usual works, the author examines a number of less well-known secondary sources of Russian, Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Italian, German, and French origin. Of even greater value are the author's juxtapositions of the relevant fragments from the various versions of the early Russian chronicles, presented both in phonetic transliteration of the Old Slavonic and in English translation. Analyses of these texts and the author's emendations of heretofore generally accepted interpretations are significant. He is convincing in his argu-

ment that the Varangian military organization of the *Ruse* was by no means ethnocentric and included both individuals and groups of Slavonic and other origin. It imposed itself upon the Slavonic tribal groups not as a conquering people, but as an organization that formed the dominant social stratum with a variety of ethnic groups represented in it. This approach goes a long way toward explaining the nature of the early Rus, or Russian, states. Among the nomads who were forced from the Russian Plain by the rise of the Rus states, were the Onogurs or the *Og're* of the early Serbian chronicles, who gave their name to Hungary, which they founded by union with the *Majghari* of the early Arab chronicles who gave the ethnic Magyar name to the inhabitants of Hungary.

But the ninth century was, in Eastern Europe, a time of great political and cultural dynamism. Its intricate ethnographic and political composition has remained essentially unchanged ever since, and the development of the written Slavonic language provided, beyond literacy, the means for early codifications and political modernization. What happened in the Balkans and Moravia indeed affected Kievan Russia. By ignoring this relationship and by separating his narrow area from Eastern Europe as a whole, the author's research remains fragmentary and his theses unfinished.

Long Island University, Brooklyn, New York

DRAGOŠ D. KOSTICH

BYZANTINE PHILANTHROPY AND SOCIAL WELFARE. By *Demetrios J. Constantelos*. [Rutgers Byzantine Series.] (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1968. Pp. xxviii, 356. \$17.50.)

It is easy to fall into clichés and stereotypes about a given civilization, and this has been particularly true of Byzantine history and the bad press it has unfairly and unjustifiably received in the past. Modern Byzantine historical scholarship has not only provided the modern reader with a much clearer and more objective view; it has also been able to reconstruct many aspects of the Byzantine past accurately and vividly. It has been a virtually unquestioned cliché to say that Byzantium and Eastern Christendom were otherworld-oriented and not much concerned with social problems. Dr. Constantelos' excellent book is powerful evidence to the contrary. As the first original work in the "Rutgers Byzantine Series," it is the first serious and comprehensive treatment of Byzantine philanthropy and social welfare, basing itself firmly on a study of the outstanding sources of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. In the words of the author, "Byzantine philanthropia designates a deliberate, religious, and purposeful expression of love and compassion for humanity, a definition similar to but more advanced in depth and catholicity than that of ancient Greece. . . ." The author contends that the historical evidence corroborates to a remarkable degree the belief held by Theophylactos Simocattes, Photios, Nicholas Mysticos, John Cantacuzenos, Alexios Makrembolites, and other Byzantine authors that, generally speaking, the Byzantine Empire was a most philanthropic state. Byzantine philanthropy was, of course, religiously based, and public philanthropy and private charity were among the finest aspects of the civilization. The Byzantine Church was conscious of its social responsibility to the community and to individuals and worked for "a total metamorphosis of the cosmos and for the rehabilitation of the social order." There were a rich tradition in social philosophy and social projects and a concern to alleviate human suffering in all of its manifestations. Constantelos, basing his ideas firmly on Byzantine texts and drawing support from Byzantine historical, archaeological, and theological studies, demonstrates the role and importance of philanthropy in the thought-world of Byzantium (including

a brief survey of the Hellenic and Christian background); he shows how this was put into practice by the Church, by monastic establishments, by the Byzantine state, and by private benefactors; and he describes the philanthropic institutions for which we have evidence, embracing hospitals, hospices, homes for the aged, orphanages, houses for the poor, reformatories, cemeteries for the poor, and homes for the blind.

The book is profusely illustrated with more than forty illustrations and four maps drawn for the volume; it also has a rich bibliography of primary and secondary sources. *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* amply illustrates that "Greek-Christian philanthropy was a collective, well-organized ideal pursued by an entire society," an ideal that was theologically and religiously rooted, and though considered a political and social virtue, it had for the individual the value of relieving a guilty conscience, averting the wrath of God, and helping secure the salvation of one's soul. Emperor, Patriarch, merchant princes, wealthy landowners, individuals—all vied with each other in the establishment of philanthropic institutions and in the practice of the virtue of philanthropy.

Constantelos has provided the reader with a first-rate historical study of a hitherto unexplored area. *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* will undoubtedly become the definitive study on the subject.

Colgate University

JOHN E. REXINE

PAŃSTWOWA GOSPODARKA SOLNA W POLSCE DO SCHYŁKU XIV WIEKU [State Economics of the Salt Industry in Poland to the End of the 14th Century]. By *Jerzy Wyrozumski*. [Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Number 178. Prace Historyczne, Number 21.] (Cracow: Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. 1968. Pp. 137. Zł. 22.)

THIS significant monograph both analyzes an aspect of the government and economy of medieval Poland and provides data for the eventual "historian of salt." Though it includes mention of salt production in Kujavia, Greater Poland, and Silesia, the book concentrates especially upon the mines of Bochnia and Wieliczka in Little Poland.

Professor Wyrozumski of Cracow prefaces his work with a thorough historiographical survey and concludes that, although the economic significance of salt in Poland and the growth of the state in this period have both been studied, few scholars have concerned themselves with the relation between these two factors. The nature of this topic causes the book to be, in effect, divided into two historical sections. In the first, the author evaluates our knowledge of the earliest salt production in the Cracow region and describes in detail the technique commonly utilized therein, tracing it back to at least the eleventh century. Finally, he studies the social position of salt producers in this period and finds them more limited by royal and princely power than historians have previously thought. This suggests some revision of traditional views on the nature of government in early Poland.

The second section is to me the most significant. In the late thirteenth century rock salt mining was developed in Little Poland, and Wyrozumski has carefully traced the process by which a new organization of production reinforced the rise of this region to political predominance in the reunited *regnum Poloniae*. Salt became a royal monopoly upon which part of the economic health of the monarchy was predicated. In his final chapter, the author analyzes the commerce in salt as organized by the state. If it is too much to see in this a protomercantilism, one can nevertheless identify a sophisticated awareness of the relation between politics and economy.

University of Southern California

PAUL W. KNOLL

ALEXANDER III AND THE TWELFTH CENTURY. By *Marshall W. Baldwin*. [The Popes through History, Volume III.] (New York: Newman Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 228. \$6.50.)

PROFESSOR Baldwin deserves our gratitude for his concise survey of political and diplomatic activities during the pontificate of Alexander III. He discusses chiefly the papal schism following the election of 1159, Alexander's ensuing conflict with Frederick Barbarossa, and the Becket dispute. But the actual content of the book is wider. Particularly valuable are the author's reflections on papal dealings with eastern princedoms, the fruit of his long study of the crusades. Alexander is merely the central figure in this great panorama.

Politics and diplomacy, however, were variable surface phenomena. Beneath them ran two profound and enduring forces that this biography leaves aside. The first is the Church's *raison d'être*. Only two pages are devoted to the faith. It seems odd to discuss a pope without extensive reference to religion. In his nearly four thousand extant acts did Alexander never notice the great movements of spiritual regeneration in his day? (How aware was the Pope of cultural movements in general?) We should like our students to find answers to this sort of question, even if negative, when they turn to "The Popes through History."

The second force behind papal diplomacy was jurisprudence, *as process* rather than as personal skill. The meticulous nature of legal thought in the individual man may, I fear, deaden the estimate of a pope's achievement. Baldwin calls Alexander "deliberate," "patient," and "moderate" and sees him bridling extremists of every party. He does not consider him "brilliant" or "magnificent." By the short-term scale, I am sure that Baldwin's balanced assessment is an advance beyond earlier estimates. Something greater appears in the long view. Baldwin says many important things about Alexander's legal knowledge, but he has decided not to assess the Pope's debt to earlier men or the enormous debt owed to him in statcraft and in law that his successors, especially Innocent III and Gregory IX, acknowledged. More than diplomatic tours de force, the progressive ramification of their acts gives a long-term measure for the greatness of lawyer-popes such as Alexander: namely, the sustaining power of their judgments.

University of Chicago

K. F. MORRISON

THE BYZANTINE FAMILY OF KANTAKOUZENOS (CANTACUZENUS), C.A. 1100-1460. A GENEALOGICAL AND PROSOPOGRAPHICAL STUDY. By *Donald M. Nicol*. [Dumbarton Oaks Studies, Number 11.] (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University. 1968. Pp. xliii, 265, 15 plates, 2 tables. \$10.00.)

A COMPREHENSIVE investigation of the roles and functions of the Byzantine aristocracy in the history of the Empire remains to be carried out. Meanwhile, we still lag in the simpler task of determining just who was who among the members of the great aristocratic families. The classic work in this field, Du Cange's *Familiae Augustae Byzantinae*, is nearly three hundred years old. Subsequent scholars have occasionally undertaken short prosopographical essays on various individual families or lines. Despite its flaws, a fundamental work of this kind, on a major scale, is A. Th. Papadopoulos' *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259-1453*, and D. I. Polemis' *The Doukai* appeared in 1968.

Nicol's book examines another family that was important in the Empire's last centuries. After an essentially historiographic preface, the body of the book contains a series of biographical entries on each individual member of the family whose identity

can be established. An appendix also surveys quickly the kindred Phakrases family. Some well-chosen plates and a two-part genealogical table of the entire family complete the book. Its organizational format is largely identical with that of Papadopoulos, though Nicol's biographical articles are longer and more fully developed.

Four basic categories of Kantakouzenoi may be discerned: the largely obscure ancestors of John Kantakouzenos; the Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (1347-1354) himself; his relatives and children involved in his usurpation and its aftermath; and the subsequent family members who, in the fifteenth century, were linked to aspects of Byzantine, Trapezuntine, Levantine, Ottoman, and Balkan history. The later "Cantacuzene" families are not traced in detail. In this context, John VI receives the longest entry, a frustrating compromise between a biographical sketch and a detailed examination. The most thorough factual account of his life currently available, this is the first extended study to set his postabdication career in proper context, but it still leaves us badly in need of a full-scale work on this important man.

A general criticism is that Nicol often stretches his logic to include some individuals who were hardly direct members of the family, though his treatment of them is still useful. A more minute criticism involves a few gaps in the secondary literature used: for example, F. Babinger's "Witwensitz und Sterbeplatz der Sultanin Mara," *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών*, XXIII (1953), 240-44, is not cited.

Nevertheless, Nicol's exhaustive efforts, diligently carried out and stylishly presented, provide a mine of information for those working in every area of history touched upon by this book, which also strikes me as being, more particularly, among the most valuable contributions on the history of fourteenth-century Byzantium to appear in a long time.

University of Wisconsin, Madison

JOHN W. BARKER

DAS EISENGEWERBE IM MITTELALTER. By *Rolf Sprandel*. (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1968. Pp. xii, 463. DM 110.)

UNTIL relatively recently the historiography of technology could be divided into two categories. One species was characterized by a parochial documentation of the chronology of the invention or development of machines and processes. The other, penetrating the wider area of social and economic history, was consciously written from a Marxist orientation. To a growing number of historians, however, neither alternative is satisfactory. The history of technology, more than just describing invention, must also, without prejudice, investigate the structure and temper of the society in which innovation occurred as well as the manifold social and economic changes resulting from it.

Sprandel's work is a successful example of this new mode of technological historiography. Although he reviews iron production during the Celtic, Roman, and Carolingian periods, he is primarily concerned with the industry from about 1100 to 1500. His four major chapters treat successively those segments of society involved in production or trade, the locations of the industry, the technology, and, finally, the economic and social consequences of iron manufacture.

Within this framework little escapes Sprandel's notice. He points out that the Cistercians, the minor and great nobility, the communes and villages, the iron merchants and moneylenders had different motives for engaging in the industry. Over the centuries there emerged such common traits as liberal mining and production laws and a growing connection with a money economy and long-distance trade. There is a

careful discussion of such innovations as the application of water power to bellows and trip hammers and the separation of the blast furnace and finery. Sprandel reviews ore and transportation costs, taxes, wages, and iron prices. Profits were marginal, Sprandel believes, because the majority of ironworks were not capitalistic ventures, but, instead, belonged to hammermasters, who might reduce payrolls by using family labor and incorporate technical improvements without capital outlay.

Sprandel has combined his own research into every facet of the iron industry with the findings of previous scholars. The book includes a wealth of charts, tables, and graphs covering such items as ore costs, transportation costs, and iron prices, which have been reduced to common units. There are a lengthy bibliography of pertinent manuscripts, licenses, tariffs, registers, and regulations dating from the Carolingian period and a comprehensive bibliography of secondary literature. A geographical index is also included. The work is a well-organized, scholarly synthesis that economic and social historians, in addition to historians of technology, should find of unquestioned value.

University of California, Los Angeles

JOHN G. BURKE

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. By *Friedrich Heer*. Translated by *Janet Sondheimer*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1968. Pp. xiv, 309. \$10.00.)

It greatly impressed and amazed me when, about twenty years ago, I read in the preface to Heer's monumental two-volume study on the history of ideas in twelfth-century Europe, *Der Aufbau Europas*, that the author's notes had been destroyed during the war and had to be reassembled again. One may still be impressed by such a Herculean task, but hardly amazed. In the course of the last two decades, Professor Heer has published about twelve other volumes, some of them close to a thousand pages. They deal primarily with the history of political and religious ideologies from the High Middle Ages to our times. In addition, Heer has been, through all these years, a very active, liberal Catholic journalist and more recently the dramaturgist of the Vienna *Burgtheater*.

Yet Heer is by no means an amateur with a flair for the sensational. He is a professional medieval historian who has gone through the thorough training of the Austrian *Institut für Geschichtsforschung*. His method is, however, entirely his own. One might possibly call it one of free association, not in the Freudian sense of depth psychology but rather of a kind of *Gestalt* psychology that perceives relationships between basic concepts by means of a highly sensitive intuition, even though kinships thus established may appear disparate to others.

The Holy Roman Empire, beautifully illustrated, and ably translated by Janet Sondheimer, follows Heer's earlier *Die Tragödie des heiligen römischen Reiches* (1952). There he stressed the institutional issues related to the holy crown. This newer study rather traces mutations of the imperial idea from the medieval dynasties down to the House of Habsburg-Lorraine, under changing historical conditions.

In view of the foregoing remark on Heer's approach to history, the reader must not be surprised to encounter on the same page references to such personages as the Salian Emperor Henry II, Karl I, the last Habsburg ruler, Belshazzar, the last king of Babylon, Bernard Shaw, and, for good measure, Hitler, John F. Kennedy, and Khrushchev. In another instance Richelieu, Mazarin, and Napoleon keep company with Rhabanus Maurus, Goethe, Adenauer, and John Foster Dulles. As to the approach of political theory to the imperial idea, Leibniz' and Hegel's views are rightly dis-

cussed at some length, but it is surprising that the individual who perhaps offered the most ingenious contribution to the analysis of the concept—the seventeenth-century political philosopher Samuel Pufendorf—is dismissed in one sentence.

This is not Heer's strongest work. While his methods are at variance with those of the great majority of professional historians, his books, including this one, must by no means be dismissed as those of a superficial polyhistor. Their somewhat inordinate stress on symbolism and analogies notwithstanding, they are in several ways original and brilliant. One would not want Heer to establish a school, but one likes to listen to a man of his outstanding intellectual gifts.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

ROBERT A. KANN

THE KING AND HIS COURTS: THE ROLE OF JOHN AND HENRY III
IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, 1199-1240. By *Ralph V. Turner*.
(Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 310. \$9.75.)

It is a pleasure to welcome a book from yet another member of the great band of pupils coming forward to pick up the torch dropped from the hand of a great teacher, Professor Sidney Painter of the Johns Hopkins University. Professor Turner writes well, in a simple and easy style that will help young aspirants to the historical world to enjoy a subject not always easy to follow. The author's aim is to set out the part played by the individual English kings in the administration of justice during those important years when, for the first time, sufficient evidence survives to show the part the kings themselves were playing in the work. It is only in the lifetime of the older scholars among us that it is possible for a young American historian to choose this subject and pursue it adequately from original sources without inordinate expense and long residence in England. When Maitland was writing his great book on English law before the days of Edward I, the materials of his work lay unprinted and very inadequately catalogued in London. Since those days many record societies, central and local, have been at work helping the labors of the staff of the Public Record Office itself, and Turner has made good use of their endeavors, as well as supplementing them by his own.

If I might offer one very faint criticism of this work, it is that Turner hardly makes it plain that he does not approve of English summaries of plea rolls or feet of fines, since it cannot be clear whether such summaries set out all of the evidence contained in the rolls or fines. In his full bibliography Turner gives generous credit to all who have edited the volumes that he has used. He makes his citations, indicating at the same time the editor of the work, as well as the volume of the society that printed it. Turner cautiously concludes that "In the sphere of justice, early thirteenth-century English government was not yet fully an 'institutionalized monarchy' and was not yet headed by an 'impersonal crown.'" This is a good book, written with great care. It will long remain "required reading" in the schools of medieval history both in England and America.

Reading, England

DORIS M. STENTON

EXCOMMUNICATION AND THE SECULAR ARM IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND: A STUDY IN LEGAL PROCEDURE FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By *F. Donald Logan*. [Studies and Texts, Number 15.] (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 1968. Pp. 239. \$8.00.)

THIS careful and helpful book guides its reader through the process of excommunication, signification, seizure by the secular arm, and absolution in late medieval England. It casts the information that it has culled from documentary evidence—particularly its 7,600 significations, but much else besides—against statements of the law and the canonists. In passing, it provides helpful discussions of a variety of pertinent and tangential things: contumacy, prosecution of heresy, jails, the delivery of writs, the intricacies of chancery procedure, and payments of subsidies. As a whole, it is a learned gloss to one aspect of the peaceful cooperation between “church” and “state.” It displays both the advantages and the disadvantages of a controlled, rather narrow (except chronologically), and linear view of the historian’s job.

University of California, Berkeley

ROBERT BRENTANO

INTRODUÇÃO À HISTÓRIA DA AGRICULTURA EM PORTUGAL: A QUESTÃO CEREALÍFERA DURANTE A IDADE MÉDIA. By *A. H. de Oliveira Marques*. [A marcha da humanidade. Section, Para a história de Portugal e Brasil, Number 1.] (2d ed.; Lisbon: Edições Cosmos. 1968. Pp. 350.)

COMPLETED some eight years ago as a candidate’s thesis for the post of *Professor extraordinário* at the University of Lisbon, Oliveira Marques’ pioneering survey of the Portuguese agrarian scene in the later Middle Ages has finally been put before the public in this “second” edition after a series of lamentable vicissitudes to which the author discreetly alludes in his “Final Note.”

But far better late than never. Now, for the first time, Iberian medievalists have something to “take hold of” in an area heretofore almost completely obscure. The author “introduces” us to a rich variety of matters concerned with medieval Portuguese agriculture—from climate and soil types to methods of baking and milling—as well as telling us a bit about such varied matters as agrarian techniques, property structures, yield ratios, grain prices, trade, storage, and many others. In fact, so many subjects are mentioned that the book might easily be criticized as superficial—a succession of hors d’oeuvres rather than a meal—were it not that the author has specifically, and modestly, called it an “introduction” to the subject and happily acknowledged, at every step of the way, both the enormous lack of previous studies and the need for additional ones.

Apart from possible dissent over certain minor details, such as Marques’ explanation of the *cabeça do casal*, his remark that the *herdade* and the *casal* “seem to correspond, ‘grosso modo,’” and his curiously vague reference to the *quinta*, there is a more important interpretive question involving the book’s basic thesis: that during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Portugal was fated, because of its geographic conditions and special agrarian structure, to be chronically deficient in cereals and unable to feed its population from internal production. To prove his thesis, the author has amassed a large amount of valuable and interesting evidence indicating the steady importation of grain from as early as 1282 onward.

But are not these imports (about which there can be no doubt) open to a rather

different, less geographically determinist, interpretation? Was not the repeated recourse to foreign grain (aside from the admitted years of crisis that Marques has hunted down so well) indicative, not of any necessary deficiency but rather of certain general transformations in the European economy during the later Middle Ages? For various reasons grain production in Portugal was relatively costly. With sea transport relatively cheap, it was economically more sensible to supply centers of population (mainly seaports, like Lisbon, Oporto, and others) from areas of low cost production (Madeira and the Baltic, among others), and either abandon the marginal lands in the interior no longer needed for subsistence production or convert them to more profitable uses, such as cattle pasture or winegrowing.

Imports of cereals into Portugal before about 1350 might reasonably be attributed to an absolute incapacity to feed a population too numerous for the country's resources as then exploited. But after the plague years, with the consequent decline in the population, continued Portuguese grain imports, it seems to me, must be explained rather by the economics of relative advantage and the growing specialization and economic integration of the various regions of Europe. Thus, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was uneconomic for Portugal to raise all of its own grain, not, as Marques implies, impossible.

Yale University

H. B. JOHNSON, JR.

FROM PETRARCH TO LEONARDO BRUNI: STUDIES IN HUMANISTIC AND POLITICAL LITERATURE. By *Hans Baron*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press for the Newberry Library. 1968. Pp. vii, 269. \$12.00.)

IN this scholarly little volume Hans Baron undertakes a rigorous structural analysis of a group of texts ranging from Petrarch's *Secretum* through Leonardo Bruni's *Laudatio Florentinae urbis*, his two *Dialogi ad Petrum Histum*, and Gregorio Dati's *Istoria di Firenze* to a fifteenth-century Venetian chronicle and a humanist copy of Aulus Gellius, the latter two being based on manuscripts in the Newberry Library. An appendix presents, with full scholarly apparatus, the first printed edition of Bruni's *Laudatio*. Throughout his discussion of the texts Baron emphasizes the importance of determining the date of their original composition as well as of any later revisions. "Unless we know exactly," he writes, "when, where and under what conditions a work was written, and whether it was composed all of a piece or emerged little by little, we cannot judge the author's intention, the seriousness or merely oratorical character of his statements, or the relation of his work to the actual life of the time."

That such knowledge is especially important for the relating of Petrarch's writings to the circumstances of his life, owing to his habit of keeping them in his desk for years and adding to or altering them at intervals, is amply demonstrated in the first two lengthy chapters. Here Baron shows how the identification of later revisions in the *Secretum* tends to remove what would seem to be apparent contradictions in Petrarch's thought if the whole work were regarded as having been written at one specific moment in his career. In the three central chapters of the book, Baron applies the same method of structural analysis to the dating of Bruni's *Laudatio* and *Dialogi* and Dati's *Istoria*. This is familiar ground that he has already covered in the two books on Florentine civic humanism in the early *quattrocento* published in 1955. The present review of the evidence meets on their own ground those recent critics of his thesis who tend to stress the rhetorical character of humanist writing to the practical ex-

clusion of any serious consideration of the ideas expressed therein. The argument is too complex for summary here. It supplements and reinforces, rather than replaces, that already advanced in Baron's earlier work and widely accepted by scholarly opinion.

University of Western Ontario

WALLACE K. FERGUSON

THE AGE OF PLANTAGENET AND VALOIS: THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY 1328-1498. By *Kenneth Fowler*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1967. Pp. 208. \$15.00.)

A PARISIAN JOURNAL, 1405-1449. Translated from the anonymous *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* by *Janet Shirley*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 418. \$9.00.)

THE appearance of Dr. Fowler's volume (assuredly brought out in America only by the fluke of a publisher's agreement) makes one wonder if England has its Hundred Years' War buffs similar to ours for the Civil War. The book's outstanding features are opulent illustrations and detailed descriptions of war machinery, but only a true and easy-spending buff would require both in one volume, and even he would be wiser to look for more representative picture books and better texts. The technicolor illustrations do convey the flamboyance of late medieval aristocratic culture but little of the brutality or despondency of the age, and the repetition of stylized battle scenes and brasses is tedious. Nor are the illustrations satisfactorily integrated with the text. The latter does not fulfill the promise of its overblown title, being only an account of the Hundred Years' War, with an addendum on the arts. Though Fowler relies on the latest scholarship and his own archival research, his book cannot be considered a replacement for the standard work of Perroy because it ignores constitutional developments not directly related to the military and leaves out Marcel and Caboche for lists of deservedly obscure marshals, *routiers*, fortresses, and types of cannon. Those who have this specialized interest will find useful material, but they would be better advised to wait for the monograph on French warfare that the author promises in his notes.

Mrs. Shirley's translation, on the other hand, may be recommended for scholar and buff alike. The anonymous Parisian journal not only has much valuable information on technical subjects ranging from the market prices of basic commodities to the royal funeral ceremony, but it makes unusually compelling reading in its reflection of late medieval urban life. This is Huizinga's world of bells pealing through the night, long, barefooted processions through mud and steady rain, and "entertainments" featuring blind men beating each other with clubs and fools scrambling up a greased pole to catch a goose. Most eloquent is the author's hatred of the interminable war; it brought such desolation that the poor were forced to fight with pigs for discarded offal. Since he was convinced that "all the nobles wanted was war, whereas the commons wanted to put an end to the fighting" he became disillusioned with all factions. At first a rabid Burgundian who claimed that "this Count of Armagnac was a devil in the shape of a man," he slowly realized that the interests of the Burgundians were not those of Paris. But even after the tide turned in favor of Charles VII, he never became a patriot; he maintained a grudging admiration for Bedford (though he grumbled about English cooking), and, as late as 1437, he was saying that "no one could decide which was the worse bargain, the French or the English." Moreover, he was not impressed enough with Joan of Arc to present her

activity as decisive and does not even mention the coronation at Reims. For him the death of Salisbury was the turning point of the war.

Shirley and her publishers are to be commended for this exemplary edition, which is adorned with excellent maps, an introduction, and explanatory notes. The brisk translation is based on the manuscripts rather than the nineteenth-century edition, and whenever the text appears obscure the original is included in the footnotes. The fact that the translator was trained as a linguist rather than as a historian appears in such liberties as "alderman" for *échevin* and "sovereignty" for *seigneurie*, and I see no reason for turning *dame Jehanne* into "my lady Jeanne" since the author was not a partisan of La Pucelle. But the vitality of the journal's prose is never shrouded in archaisms, and the reader is treated to such images as a cold so intense that "hens had their combs frozen right up to their heads" and such cameos as when the widow of Charles VI first viewed her grandson Henry VI in 1431 and turned away in tears almost as if she or the author foresaw the Wars of the Roses.

Northwestern University

ROBERT E. LERNER

LE LIVRE DU CIEL ET DU MONDE. By Nicole Oresme. Edited by Albert D. Menut and Alexander J. Denomy, C.S.B. Translated with an introduction by Albert D. Menut. [The University of Wisconsin Publications in Medieval Science.] (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 778. \$17.50.)

NICOLE ORESME AND THE MEDIEVAL GEOMETRY OF QUALITIES AND MOTIONS: A TREATISE ON THE UNIFORMITY AND DIFFORMITY OF INTENSITIES KNOWN AS *TRACTATUS DE CONFIGURATIONIBUS QUALITATUM ET MOTUUM*. Edited with an introduction, English translation, and commentary by Marshall Clagett. [The University of Wisconsin Publications in Medieval Science.] (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 713. \$15.00.)

THESE are the latest volumes to appear in the series entitled "The University of Wisconsin Publications in Medieval Science," under the general editorship of Marshall Clagett. Both maintain the high standards of earlier volumes, and together they mark a significant advance in the study of medieval science in general and of Nicole Oresme in particular.

Le livre du ciel et du monde, a French translation of Aristotle's *De coelo* with glosses by Oresme, was composed about 1377 "at the command of" Charles V of France, and it is reprinted here from the earlier edition, which was published in three installments in *Mediaeval Studies* (1941-43). The text is essentially printed without change, but this time an English translation on facing pages has been added, the introduction has been modified, and a bibliography has been added. Some sections of the earlier edition (for example, the detailed description of the orthographical characteristics of the six manuscripts used in this edition and some of the introductory material) have been abbreviated. With the great advance in Oresme studies in the past twenty-five years, especially through the work of Clagett, Murdoch, and Grant, much of the earlier introduction has been rendered obsolete and is here omitted. An important feature that has been somewhat revised from the earlier edition is the inclusion of "A Selected List of Technical Neologisms" contained in Oresme's work. Since Oresme was one of the first to translate scientific and philosophical works into French, he was forced to coin numerous new words, which makes him significant in the development

of a French technical vocabulary. This new edition has a more convenient format than the earlier one, which should make it accessible to a much wider audience.

Clagett's edition of the remarkable *Tractatus de configurationibus qualitatum et motuum* from fifteen manuscripts is an important event indeed for historians of medieval science and intellectual history. This excellent edition has an English translation, copious introductions and commentaries, an exhaustive bibliography, three long appendixes in which other relevant texts are edited from manuscript, excellent indexes of Latin terms and manuscripts cited, and a detailed general index. Indeed, it seems as though Clagett has surpassed himself this time, for the breadth of his knowledge and the depth of his analyses seem, if anything, to go beyond those of his earlier books. Seldom does one review a book such as this one in which it is difficult to find a point to criticize.

This is the first time that the entire treatise has appeared in print, and it is edited with painstaking accuracy, even to the extent of giving diagram variants that appear in the different manuscripts. The treatise itself marks one of the high points of the fourteenth-century movement in the direction of what later came to be called "mathematical physics." It represents, perhaps, the most detailed and interesting discussion of the medieval doctrine of "intension and remission of forms," which to some degree at least still interested Galileo and Newton. The ultimate failure of Oresme and his contemporaries to achieve a "scientific revolution" probably hinges on their lack of interest in experimental measurement, but, as a purely theoretical creation, such works are of a truly high order. Besides the application of a primitive graphing technique to the representation of various physical qualities such as heat or velocity, one is struck by the attempt also to apply it to such categories as pain and joy. In many ways Oresme shows himself to be a kind of prototype of the "modern scientist" with his somewhat skeptical attitude, critical approach, probabilism, and so forth, but this is far from the whole story.

We must once again commend the University of Wisconsin Press for publishing such splendid editions. All students of medieval intellectual history will be eagerly looking forward to subsequent volumes in the series.

University of Leeds

CHARLES B. SCHMITT

CHAUCER'S LONDON. By *D. W. Robertson, Jr.* [New Dimensions in History: Historical Cities.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1968. Pp. x, 241. Cloth \$7.95, paper \$3.95.)

PROFESSOR Robertson's stated purpose is to lead his reader through an exposure to the artifacts and events of late fourteenth-century London life to a conception of a world and a human nature much unlike our own. The color and the external peculiarities of city and citizens are striking to the twentieth-century visitor, but they are less important to Robertson than the unfamiliar "'universal discourse' or the ordinary conceptual framework of thought and language" of the fourteenth century.

This conceptual framework relates to a society "structured in a complex system of personal obligations, typically arranged in small hierarchies within the great hierarchy of the realm"; to a society devoid of classes in the modern sense and populated by individuals, each with his own peculiar character, talents, and disposition but lacking what today is called a personality; and to a society concerned with morality as evidenced by behavior within the group rather than with the free development of the individual. Acceptance of the manifold implications of a providential order and comprehension of

the distinction between the realities of the dispensations of Providence and the ephemeral vagaries of fortune were universal in the age.

None of these notions is novel. Historians may not agree that they significantly distinguish the Age of Chaucer from earlier or later centuries. The student, nonetheless, is invited to proceed beyond the introductory chapter in the expectation that the sights, sounds, and events of the late fourteenth century will be woven into a texture to which essential meaning can be added only by constant evidence of interplay between the Londoner's world view and his acts, words, or creative achievements. He may anticipate a concluding synthesis in the chapter entitled "London as an Intellectual Center." If so, he will be disappointed, for although reference to morality, to hierarchy, to social order, and to Providence or fortune does occur from time to time, there is neither sustained development of thesis nor concluding synthesis.

Instead, under disparate headings, there is much interesting information, not otherwise readily accessible, that is presented concisely and lucidly. For the most part it testifies both to the depth of the author's insight into the relevant historical context and to the extent of his personal research. This is particularly true of the long central chapters entitled "A Visit to the City" and "City Customs." The narrative chapter is less satisfying.

All in all, Robertson is at his best in showing off the physical lineaments of the city and the activities of the citizens. An analytical examination of the fundamental features of the society must be sought elsewhere.

Reed College

RICHARD H. JONES

FLORENCE IN TRANSITION. Volume II, STUDIES IN THE RISE OF THE TERRITORIAL STATE. By Marvin B. Becker. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1968. Pp. 275. \$7.50.)

THIS is the second volume of Marvin B. Becker's projected multivolume study of the transformation of Florentine civic ideals from the Age of Dante to the coming of the Medici. Becker's particular concern is the period from about the middle of the *trecento* to the second decade of the *quattrocento*, when communal values, gentle and aristocratic, founded on a faith in individual effort and private law, were being replaced by sterner, more legalistic and impersonal values, values oriented more toward the polis as a public thing, worthy of citizen devotion and a source of citizen virtue; in a word, they were being replaced by civic humanism. The book is brilliant and original, more firmly grounded in archival research than its predecessor and no less insightful in its use of literary and artistic sources. To be sure, as with the first volume, there is an impressionistic quality about some of its conclusions that is sure to irritate a few specialists. But controversy, even of a rancorous sort, inevitably surrounds a truly creative work of history, which these two volumes most certainly are, and should not obscure the fact that they, together with the works of Hans Baron and Gene A. Brucker, are now fundamental to an understanding of the origins of the Florentine Renaissance.

Becker's chief concern is expressed in the title of Volume II. The emergence, under the most extreme social, political, and economic pressures, of a Florentine territorial state demanded a new political ideology. Much of the book, therefore, is taken up with describing the conditions and circumstances of Florence's constitutional transformation. The entry of "new men" (*novi cives*) into government, and the essential requirements of a rapidly mounting communal debt, he considers crucial. The new men,

unsympathetic to the easygoing, patrician, corporate world of the commune pressed successfully for the stricter rule of law, for suppression of privilege, for a more equitable and efficient administration of justice and finance, for tighter legal and fiscal control over the subject areas of the *contado*. The debt, inflated by continuous war (mercenaries cost more than militia), was funded: the *Monte comunale*, with public books and public shares for sale, replaced the private groups and individuals from which the republic had borrowed before. In time, the *Monte* became the "heart" of Florentine public life and a democratizer of immense proportions. Taken together (the argument is more complex and subtle than this), the influence of the new men and the *Monte* created out of the Florentine commune a territorial state, which is Becker's main point. Civic humanism simply justified it.

Becker's prose is often prolix and prey to jargonisms. (How are "values" "trans-valuated"? How is "personality" "structured"?) Terms such as "gentle paideia" (for the communal ideology) and "stern paideia" (for its replacement) serve better to obscure than to illuminate his thesis. Perhaps his critics would be fewer if his style were simpler. But this is a minor fault; his ideas are splendid.

New York University

DAVID L. HICKS

DAS KONZIL VON PAVIA-SIENÄ, 1423-1424. Volume I, DARSTELLUNG.

By *Walter Brandmüller*. [Vorreformationsgeschichtliche Forschungen, Number 16.] (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff. 1968. Pp. 289. DM 48.)

THE Council of Pavia-Siena, which issued only four, relatively ineffective decrees, was nevertheless significant in the development of the conciliar movement—from its primary aim, the restoration of a united papacy, to the radical, revolutionary, and indeed schismatic stage represented by the Council of Basel. This is how Brandmüller defines the importance of his subject, and his own viewpoint is clear when he characterizes the development in question as a perversion. It is not surprising that he insists on the good faith of Pope Martin V, usually regarded as the architect of Pavia-Siena's failure, and that the radical conciliarists and reformers at the council come off much less well than the adherents of the papal interest. The bias is marked enough to shake the reader's confidence, not in the author's scholarly achievement but rather in the relevance of his general judgments. Martin no doubt wanted Pavia-Siena to succeed as a council under the pope, but not as a reform council that might have usurped papal authority; since the latter possibility was at issue, Martin's policy inevitably turned out to be anticonciliar in ways that Brandmüller indeed shows clearly enough. The transfer to Siena, Martin's refusal to preside in person, the frustration of the French Nation's reform program, the premature termination of the council by the Pope's delegates—these are excused or justified by arguments that account for everything except the coming disasters of Basel, to say nothing of Wittenberg.

On the other hand, Brandmüller has created an imposing structure, based not only on the usual sources but also on a remarkably wide-ranging exploration of European archives and on a previously unknown, very rich documentary report of the council's proceedings by the notary attached to the envoy of King Alfonso of Aragon. The latter, indeed, is presented as the chief villain of the piece, far more than in the previously standard account by Valois. In any case, the details of political maneuvering and of programs are abundant enough to show how the interests of reform and constitutional conciliarism, lacking effective leadership, were hopelessly complicated by personal, local, and national interests of every kind. The conciliar cause had been

similarly compromised at Constance and would be again at Basel; Pavia-Siena now takes its place as a worthy middle term in the series. A promised second volume of documents should establish the intrinsic interest of the council even more solidly.

University of Washington

HOWARD KAMINSKY

Modern Europe

ROBERT PARKER AND COMTE DE MÉRODE-WESTERLOO: THE MARLBOROUGH WARS. Edited by *David Chandler*. [Military Memoirs.] ([Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1968. Pp. xxiv, 276. \$8.00.)

THIS fourth volume in Longman's new "Military Memoirs" series presents two widely different views of the Marlborough wars, one written by a modest Irish Protestant, Robert Parker, who fought under Marlborough and rose to the rank of captain of the Grenadiers; the other by a dashing, arrogant, well-to-do aristocrat, the Comte de Mérode-Westerloo, who, according to his account, distinguished himself in Louis XIV's army until 1705 when, furious at his failure to win a coveted post, he resigned and shortly thereafter accepted a command in the Emperor's forces and served with Marlborough and Prince Eugène. The memoirs of these two eyewitnesses have been expertly edited by David Chandler. He has extracted a large section from the 1747 edition of Parker's sober, detailed account and translated and juxtaposed with these pages appropriate passages covering the same years (1701-1713) and many of the same battles and incidents from the 1840 edition of Westerloo's lively recollections. Chandler has supplied useful maps, diagrams, plates, biographical notes, two brief essays, two good indexes, pertinent notes and cross references, and a short, but thoroughly considered introduction. This superior editing is a positive feature of the book, and one reason why it commends itself to the library of the scholar as well as that of the general public.

A keen observer and an experienced soldier, Parker carefully records the details of battles he witnessed (among them Blenheim and Ramillies), noting the terrain, the disposition of troops, the maneuvers and marches, and the wisdom of military stratagems. Intent as he is upon an exact chronicling, Parker does not neglect the opportunity to comment, to relate anecdotes (he avoided a cannon ball by stepping "nimble aside"), and to eulogize Marlborough who, he felt, had been grievously ill-treated by an ungrateful Queen and country.

By contrast, the memoirs of the Comte de Mérode-Westerloo, which have been almost unknown outside Belgium, are the personal apologia of a man who, despite the honors he received, nursed disappointments and grievances of real or imagined slights. His descriptions of battles are thin and superficial, except in the details that affected him. The delightfully written pages reveal his magnificent ego, touchy temper, jealousy, concern for etiquette, and conviction that he could have won the war single-handedly. Not only is he a dauntless soldier who takes on a "whole army"; he is also an improving landlord, a courtier at the Emperor's coronation, and a writer of considerable talent.

These two authors deserve a wider audience than they have had. In these well-edited selections there is much to illuminate both the Marlborough wars and the social and political attitudes of the early eighteenth century.

George Washington University

LOIS G. SCHWOERER

THE ORIGINS OF SOCIALISM. By *George Lichtheim*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1969. Pp. xii, 302. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$2.95.)

THIS is a much-needed book, and the profession is fortunate that George Lichtheim decided to write it. Combining recent scholarship on the "utopians" and Hegel with his own sure grasp of early socialist literature, Marxism, and socialist history in general, he has produced the first really unified essay, in any language, that ranges over the entire problem of socialist origins down to the 1848 watershed.

The bewildering diversity of early socialist thought has led previous writers on the subject simply to present a kind of catalogue of "forerunners." Lichtheim's mode of organization, the key to the unity and meaning of his study, gets at the essential originality of these writers by placing them within the intellectual universe in which Marxism was spawned. In his usual manner, moreover, he roots his intellectual history firmly in the context of Europe under the initial impact of the "dual revolution." Theory and practice are inseparable. The book is divided into three parts, each concentrating upon one of the three elements that Marx alone was able to fuse into the first general critical theory of bourgeois-industrial society: French socialism and Communism; the British critique of industrial capitalism and its theoretical buttress, political economy; and German speculative philosophy. Some critics will no doubt see Lichtheim's framework as another "foundations of Marxism" piece and therefore challenge the title of the work because it fails to emphasize fully the progressive influence of Saint-Simonian *planification*, Fourierist and Owenite cooperativism, the protosindicalism of Proudhon and Tristan, the proto-Leninism of Buonarroti, Blanqui, and others. The author does indeed discuss these inheritances, but this is not his main point. Collectively, the early socialists provided, both in thought and deed, the emotional base and the tools of analysis for the creation of Marxian historical sociology, the functional core of nearly all varieties of modern socialism. Their stature is hardly diminished by emphasizing this role. But neither should Marx's achievement be underestimated. In his final chapter, "The Marxian Synthesis," Lichtheim dispels the widely held notion that Marx simply "combined" these elements; instead, "what he did was to go behind them to the central issue of the age: the genesis and functioning of modern society."

Several other points stressed in this study deserve special mention: the integral relationship between Romanticism and utopian socialism; the initial growth of modern feminism within the utopian context; the clear exposition of the complex problem of the Hegelian inheritance and the emergence of critical social theory; and the proper emphasis upon the historical roles of some of the less well-known early socialists, such as William Thompson, Flora Tristan, and "that busy mole," Étienne Cabet. On the other hand, while the author should be congratulated for showing that the majority of the early socialists saw the positive fruits that industrialization could bring, he does not put sufficient stress upon the economic pessimism of the Babouvist tradition prior to Cabet and Dézamy. Lichtheim also ignores the historical, as opposed to naturalist, theorizing present in some of the pre-Marxians, notably Saint-Simon. And in neglecting the social and economic ideas of some of the Chartist leaders, especially Harney and Jones, he oversimplifies the nature of the Chartist movement and its relationship to the origins of socialism. Finally, a general criticism: the unity of theory and practice works both ways; I would have preferred to see the author expand his discussion to include comment on the impact of pre-Marxian socialist and Communist ideas upon the various working-class, and bourgeois, movements that reached their culmination

in 1848. These in themselves generated new theoretical departures, such as a more acute analysis of the nature of class conflict.

This is an important book for anyone interested in the era of Europe's transition from traditional to modern capitalist society and in the foundations of its socialist critique. It gives teachers of intellectual and social history a compact, thematic, and thoroughly relevant study for classroom use.

Wayne State University

CHRISTOPHER H. JOHNSON

METTERNICH ET LA FRANCE APRÈS LE CONGRÈS DE VIENNE. Volume I, DE NAPOLÉON À DECAZES 1815/1820. By *Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny*. [Bibliothèque des Recherches historiques et littéraires.] ([Paris:] Hachette. 1968. Pp. 274. 35 fr.)

GUILLAUME de Bertier de Sauvigny, a former student of Georges Weill and Charles Pouthas, is no stranger to European or American students of early nineteenth-century European history. His *Metternich et son temps* (1959) and *France and the European Alliance 1816-1821: The Private Correspondence between Metternich and Richelieu* (1958) have already given him a well-deserved reputation as one of the foremost "revisionist" Metternich scholars of this generation. The book reviewed here, the first of three volumes covering the period between 1815 and 1830, should further enhance the author's standing as one of the leading authorities on early nineteenth-century European history.

As in his earlier publications, Bertier de Sauvigny again quotes extensively from the documents themselves. He has done so in an effort "to see the France of the restoration as Metternich saw it." Most of the unpublished material he used is in the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, the archives of the *Ministère des affaires étrangères* in Paris, and the Metternich Papers, now housed in the state archives in Prague.

As in his *France and the European Alliance*, the author emphasizes Metternich's great concern, first, over the efforts of the ultraroyalists to bring pressure on Louis XVIII to suppress the constitutional charter and, subsequently, over the increase in strength of the liberal opposition movement in France. He makes it clear that on several occasions the "friendly advice" that Metternich gave to French officials bordered on direct interference in French domestic affairs. Of especial interest to me are the author's discussions of the Chancellor's maneuvers to frustrate French attempts to weaken Austria's influence at Turin and at Rome and to thwart Russia's efforts to gain a dominant voice in French affairs.

Since this is the first part of a multivolume work, there is no index. The table of contents at the end, however, serves as a partial substitute. The footnotes are helpful to scholars who wish to pursue further the various facets of the subject.

Rice University

R. JOHN RATH

- EUGÈNE ÉTIENNE UND DIE FRANZÖSISCHE KOLONIALPOLITIK (1887–1904). By *Herward Sieberg*. [Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte, Number 4.] (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1968. Pp. 210. DM 16.)
- DIE NORDWESTGRENZE IN DER VERTEIDIGUNG INDIENS 1900–1908 UND DER WEG ENGLANDS ZUM RUSSISCH-BRITISCHEN ABKOMMEN VON 1907. By *Horst Jaeckel*. [Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte, Number 3.] (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1968. Pp. 296. DM 29.)

By presenting a monograph on Eugène Étienne, the spokesman of his native Oran, disciple of Léon Gambetta, and father of the Third Republic's colonial empire, Herr Sieberg attempts to fill an obvious gap. Among the unknown or little-known sources he has used, there is much material on Africa and Southeast Asia from the French National Archives, some material from the Quai d'Orsay, the personal papers of Étienne and of Joseph Reinach in the Bibliothèque Nationale, sundry colonial papers and newspapers, and virtually unknown material from the *Chambre des députés*. His list of literature used is impressive, and so is his general familiarity with his topic, as documented by the very detailed footnotes. He presents Étienne correctly as a politician who on the whole regarded colonial expansion primarily "as a consequence of economic necessities." The more does one regret that his book, while giving much information on the administrative side of Étienne's activity, especially on the way in which he freed his political domain from control by the navy, fails totally to identify the leading producers and firms on whose assistance he depended. The author frequently says he was denied access to important sources on this topic. But with somewhat more flair for this type of research and closer attention to the literature Sieberg himself quotes, such as Pierre Guillen's article "L'implantation du Schneider au Maroc—le début de la Compagnie marocaine" (*Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, LXXIX [No. 2, 1965], 113–68) and my own *Imperialismus vor 1914* (2d ed., 1963), it would have been easy for him to prove, for instance, that one of the main enterprises Étienne headed (the *Compagnie marocaine*) was nothing else but the agency of Schneider-Creusot in Morocco and that Étienne had developed into one of Schneider's main political helpers. Had the author been aware of this, and had he offered a sociological analysis of the many *coloniaux* who surrounded Étienne, he could have put his rich material to far more satisfactory use.

More attractive than Sieberg's study, which in a strange way neglects the *schöne grüne Weide* that his sources would have furnished to a more open-minded scholar, is the volume by Horst Jaeckel, who investigates the role played by British endeavors to defend India's northwestern frontiers in the preparation of the Anglo-Russian entente of 1907. Basing his presentation on material from the British Foreign Office and the India Office, on numerous memoirs, and on a thorough knowledge of pertinent literature, especially the works by J. A. S. Grenville on Salisbury (1964) and by George Monger on British foreign policy, 1900–1907 (1963), Jaeckel handles his topic with circumspection. He manages to illuminate one of the darkest corners of British foreign policy: its handling of the rulers and manifold tribes along India's northwestern frontier, especially Britain's relations with the emirs of Afghanistan, who were Britain's natural watchmen in the defense against Russia and who had to be handled with extreme caution. The delicate balance between the British Foreign Office and the India Office, on the one side, and the British Viceroy of India and also the commander in chief who were both as a rule more India-minded than the homeland comes into clear focus. To military men such as Herbert Kitchener,

whose loudly proclaimed militarism anticipated that of the worst hawks of the later cold war, the position of top commander in India furnished a welcome opportunity for keeping the home country terrorized. It was Kitchener who undermined the position of even as determined an imperialist as the British Viceroy, Lord Curzon, whose idea to use natives as some sort of militia displeased the general. This attractive volume concludes with a good presentation of the way in which the British Liberals' abstemious attitude in international questions brought about the Anglo-Russian entente of 1907, which served to settle Persian and Indian problems, but simultaneously led to the encirclement of Germany who, as before, had provoked it by threats.

University of New Mexico

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN

CELTIC NATIONALISM. By *Owen Dudley Edwards et al.* (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1968. Pp. 358. \$7.00.)

THIS book, which appears to have had no editor and certainly has no index, consists of three distinct essays that bear no obvious relation to one another. Owen Dudley Edwards fills more than half the book with a sprightly tour de force on nationalism in Irish history. Gwynfor Evans and Ioan Rhys devote eighty-eight pages to what reads like a Plaid Cymru pamphlet (complete with a modest list of books for further reading at the end). And Hugh MacDiarmid brings up the rear with a good example of his oracular and discontinuous prose, including the usual complement of quotations from likely and unlikely sources. The result is an uneasy juxtaposition of a long literary essay, a substantial piece of party propaganda, and a defense of a highly idiosyncratic point of view (MacDiarmid has long constituted a distinguished party of one).

Most historians will use the book as a source for ingenious quotations about Irish history, for Edwards delights in the bizarre, the amusing, and the ironic. His characterizations often have a punch that is irresistible: "de Valera has frequently been known to leave his interlocutor with the sense of being the incorrect result in a mathematical problem (or, in his more friendly moments, the correct result)." And there are some good jokes: "the Catholic church would have saved itself much trouble if instead of condemning Parnell it had made him a Cardinal with superior powers over the Irish hierarchy; and the College which contained Cardinal Antonelli could hardly raise its eyebrows over Mrs. O'Shea." Edwards is too good natured quite to be classed with Dr. Johnson's Irishmen. ("The Irish are a fair people; they never speak well of one another.") But there is a bite behind his writing, which makes it a delight to read, provided only that one already knows a good deal of Irish history. My only complaint is that he says so little about the Ireland of the past fifty years. Like many other Irish writers, Edwards seems to lose interest in what happened to Irish nationalism after 1918.

The Welsh and Scottish sections of the book, by contrast, constitute part of the raw material of history. Why, one wonders, was the Welsh National party alone of the national movements of Celtdom given space for a party statement? What of the Scottish National party (which MacDiarmid in no sense represents)? What of the Bretons? What of the Cornish? What of the Manx? What, indeed, of the Irish? It is useful to have a statement from Plaid Cymru in this accessible form. But it is odd to have it alone. As to MacDiarmid, it is good to have another addition to the canon, but one cannot help wishing that there was more about poetry in it. Though MacDiarmid rightly praises William Power's *Literature and Oatmeal*, one has the feeling that he has aban-

doned poetry as the foundation for a national revival and has substituted politicians in its place. What a decline from the vision of forty years ago, if this is true!

Harvard University

H. J. HANHAM

TUCKERS HALL EXETER: THE HISTORY OF A PROVINCIAL CITY COMPANY THROUGH FIVE CENTURIES. By *Joyce Youings*. ([Exeter:] University of Exeter and the Incorporation of Weavers, Fullers and Shearmen. 1968. Pp. xiv, 258. 35s.)

VERY few English craft guilds survived the worlds that created them. Those that took the form of religious confraternities normally had their endowments confiscated and even their existence challenged by the Reformation; the survivors among them, plus the new foundations of the Tudors and Stuarts, had their strength drained over the ensuing centuries by the movements of industry from town to country and from one part of the land to another, until they were finally killed off by the Industrial Revolution and nineteenth-century free-trade legislation. The only notable survivors today are the London livery companies, which were converted by time into honorific and convivial clubs of successful business and professional men acting as trustees for worthy educational and charitable foundations. The only provincial company to survive in the London manner, the Company of Weavers, Fullers and Shearmen of Exeter, is the subject of Miss Youings' interesting new book.

The company was in existence by the middle of the fifteenth century, and most probably it goes back to the fourteenth century both as a guild and as a confraternity. Though it lost its religious endowment at the time of the Reformation, the company kept its fifteenth-century chapel by converting it into a guildhall that still survives as the company's proudest link with the past. The company was at its height in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century when the Exeter woolen trade was most prosperous. From that period came the company's highly oligarchic charter of 1620, the embellishments of its hall, and most of its charitable endowments. With the decline of the Exeter cloth trade after 1740, the company was forced to recruit mercantile "gentlemen" not engaged in that trade in order to keep up the desired plutocratic character of its Court of Assistants.

The author bases her account upon the characteristically limited records of the company itself; these of course tell relatively little about individual members. She is at her best in the earlier chapters where she has carried her research beyond the society's records, utilizing wills and other sources to establish the difference in economic condition between the company's journeymen and small masters on the one hand and its larger masters on the other. Some of the bigger fullers or tuckers not only employed others; they also engaged in a certain amount of putting-out, being really clothiers in all but name. By the late seventeenth century some of the greater fullers had in fact become exporting merchants.

This valuable specialized study will interest not only those concerned with Exeter and the cloth trades but also students of provincial social life from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.

University of Michigan

JACOB M. PRICE

REPORT ON THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MOST HONOURABLE THE MARQUESS OF BATH, PRESERVED AT LONGLEAT. Volume IV, SEYMOUR PAPERS 1532-1686. Edited, with an introduction, by *Marjorie Blatcher*. [Historical Manuscripts Commission, Number 58.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1968. Pp. xx, 457. \$21.60 postpaid.)

THE calendaring of the Seymour Papers preserved at Longleat stands as a monument to the industry of dedicated scholars and the rising level of exactness and coverage demanded by the historical profession. Originally begun by the late Geoffrey Baskerville, the task was redefined by Marjorie Blatcher when it became evident that the collection held far greater value for the devotee of what used to be called the "laundry-slip" approach to history than for the national historian. There is little that is new in the picture of Protector Somerset and his descendants or the Tudor-Stuart stage on which they enacted their political careers, but the documents present a marvelous portrait of aristocratic family life. Account books and deeds, rent-rolls and receipts, law suits and marriages, and the trivia of daily existence supply history with a dimension more real, if less colorful, than the pageantry of state. The Lord Protector appears as a complex study in well-meaning ineptitude—tactless, caustic, and disorganized but hard working, honest, and principled. His son Edward, earl of Hertford, is revealed as an impoverished and pompous pedant who bored everybody to death with his endless efforts to re-establish his credit with the Queen and to reclaim his father's lands. His estate papers are a bottomless reservoir of social and economic history, the work of an instinctive pack rat who sifted everything for eighty-three years without proportion or dignity. The fact that his daughter-in-law, whom he referred to as a burdensome slattern, once stole some eggs and hid them under her smock was as worthy of recording as a detailed reconstruction of his father's revenues under Edward VI, which he estimated at only £7,500. The story of Edward's grandson, William, duke of Somerset, and his wife Frances is a study in family survival during the difficult years of the Civil War, the Interregnum, and the Restoration, during which the central themes were borrowing from friends, pawning the family jewels, selling land, escaping creditors, arranging marriages, and preserving the furniture from moths.

Like any family attic after a century and a half, this Seymour clutter contains something of interest for everyone: how Hertford kept his prized clockmaker out of the hands of Henry VIII; the purchase of a nightcap for Sir George Hinnds which the Countess of Hertford wanted people to think had been made "of my owne worke"; and the gaucherie of John Smyth, who wrote his brother-in-law asking permission to name his child after him because "I have had so manye children that I have gone through all my owne frends and kynred." Historians of all complexions will be indebted to Blatcher for her pains in editing the records of this distinguished clan, rich in eccentric personalities, whose family history has yet to be written.

Northwestern University

LACEY BALDWIN SMITH

SIR WALTER RALEGH ÉCRIVAIN: L'ŒUVRE ET LES IDÉES. By *Pierre Lefranc*. [Quebec:] Presses de l'Université Laval. 1968. Pp. 733. \$19.50.)

THIS book provides a new foundation for Raleigh studies. It revises, although it does not necessarily supersede, all earlier accounts of Raleigh as a writer. For the first time, the Raleigh canon has been established on a firm scholarly basis (there are surprises in store for most readers here); for the first time, all of Raleigh's writings have been exam-

ined together, and each has been subjected to detailed critical scrutiny and interpretation; for the first time, an effort has been made to relate each of Raleigh's works to the historical context in which it was written, to his intellectual interests, and to the development of his mind. The result is an original, lucid, thoroughly documented reinterpretation of him as man and writer. Lefranc is admirably explicit and candid in discussing methodological problems. While every reader may not accept every one of his arguments, Lefranc has made it possible for every reader to know exactly what the grounds are for disagreement.

The image of Raleigh as a calculating, skeptical Machiavellian, unorthodox in his religious and political opinions, is not entirely new, but the evidence for this interpretation has never before been so persuasively presented. Italianate by virtue of his intellectual interests, Celtic by virtue of inherited traits, English by virtue of his intense practicality and sense of compromise, Raleigh emerges as a compound of opposites, unknowable in simplistic terms. Lefranc believes him to have been anything but a typical or "universal" man of the English Renaissance.

The lucidity, hauteur, and disenchantment of the poems were equally apparent in Raleigh's prose: his views on foreign policy were anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish, like those of the west country Protestant squires; he had absolute confidence in English naval superiority and believed that war would pay for war; he gave a modern, realistic analysis of the power of states and was "revolutionary" in his ideas about the English economy. The theme of modernity runs throughout Lefranc's analysis. Raleigh often anticipated later ideas and attitudes, and by his fidelity to the heritage of constitutional equilibrium he rendezvoused with future history.

Both in his aristocratic disdain for common opinions and in his esoteric intellectual interests Raleigh displayed his fondness for secular, realistic analyses. Machiavelli's influence on his thought was decisive, and Platonist, Pythagorean, and scientific ideas were also important. Above all, however, he was a man of action, who became grave, disabused, and bitter in prison. He continued to fight, however, cultivating ambiguity and studying the uses of irony. Providence, in *The History of the World*, served to camouflage the positions from which he launched attacks on Christian orthodoxy and on James I and his government. According to Lefranc, he appealed to a double standard of truth; his writings were meant to deceive the traditionalists and to enlighten those who knew how to read between the lines. Raleigh was no atheist, but he was far from being an orthodox Anglican, or even, perhaps, a Christian. His place lies on the frontier between "immanentisme" and a deism "en germe."

Lefranc has exposed the quirks and equivocations in Raleigh's thought; the fundamental coherence of Raleigh's ideas and attitudes lies beneath the surface: Raleigh's praise of Divine Providence was less significant than his understanding of reason of state, the "medievalism" of *The History of the World* being a cover for transmitting other and quite different messages. In *The Holy Petence* George Mosse showed that "Machiavellism" in the seventeenth century could and did exist side by side with traditional religious influences. The danger of making Raleigh into an ironic "modern" and a consistent iconoclast is that he ceases to be recognizable as an eclectic Elizabethan historian. Lefranc is aware of the pitfalls of oversubtle interpretation, but he sometimes overburdens his evidence, reading into Raleigh's silences "Libertine" ideas, dismissing those contemporary interpretations of the *History* that found it orthodox, and attaching undue significance to Raleigh's failure to mention Christ in his scaffold speech. More surprising is Lefranc's conclusion that Raleigh cannot be connected with any of the currents having their source in Pauline thought. Raleigh's deity was the vengeful God of

the Old Testament; neither Augustinian nor Calvinist influences really affected him. If Lefranc has not entirely disposed of other interpretations, he has triumphantly demonstrated why Raleigh must be considered a major figure in English intellectual history, and, in the light of Lefranc's reassessment, new studies of him may be expected to flourish.

Reed College

F. SMITH FUSSNER

A PORTRAIT OF ISAAC NEWTON. By *Frank E. Manuel*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 478. \$11.95.)

LIKE a famous portrait by another American master, this book is a study in gray. By reading associatively words and phrases in notebooks written by Newton during his late teens and early twenties, Professor Manuel infers that Newton, a premature baby (probably shaken in self-esteem by the physical anxieties characteristic of such children) and a posthumous one, suffered further from a traumatic separation from his mother when she betrayed him by remarrying and abandoned him sometime between the age of three and eleven. Consequently, at least until he was twenty, he was possessed by homicidal and suicidal urges, and, until his death, by punitiveness and by terror and anger over any threatened deprivation. Against the "official" portrait of Newton—majestic, candid, calm, humble, just—Manuel's Newton is competitive, underhanded, violent, self-doubting and yet arrogant about his truth, intolerant, a narcissistic virgin unable to be sexually loving with women or amicable with men other than young sycophants.

Over the gray, Manuel also daubs scarlet and crimson. Though puritanical and unwilling to feel indebted to any man, Newton may have obtained preferment by countenancing a dalliance between his niece and Lord Halifax. After gaining offices, the crimson of Newton's furniture reflected the aspiration of the yeoman's son and once black-garbed scholar to aristocratic status and his bloody fantasies of omnipotence. Austerity yielded to affluence and timidity to arrogance, but guilty uneasiness remained and self-alienation increased when the don, no longer creative, became the authoritarian Warden (later Master) of the Mint and the autocratic president of the Royal Society who could ruthlessly vent his megalomania, scrupulosity, punitiveness, and rage upon both counterfeiters of his king's coin and feigners of his own discoveries in optics, mechanics, and mathematics.

I cannot gainsay Manuel's remarkable portrait. Assuming it is a true likeness, the principal question becomes its significance: What had the symbolic language of Newton's unconscious to do with the rational system of Newton's conscious science? Did it create it? How? Why did it not destroy it? Manuel disclaims any hope of discovering the psychogenesis of Newtonism and scorns histories of modern science that claim to explain its development philosophically. But this biography is more than a contribution to the old genre of Stracheyesque debunking or the new one of psychoanalytic antiquarianism. By analogical reasoning, Manuel proposes psychological "congruities," "connexities," and "correspondences" to explain the formation of Newtonianism. They are understandable, insightful, and witty, but, being possibly applicable to non-Newtonian philosophies, they are dubious, and, being unconsolidated, they are easily misrepresentable.

When Newton addressed himself to nature, his fear of the unknown demanded certainty, law, and omniscience. His childhood longing for absent parents drew his attention not to the communion of human sexuality or the comforts of finite useful inven-

tion, but to the infinite sublimity of universal attraction. Science was his means of knowing his Father and regaining whatever he had been deprived of. Born prematurely and fatherless on Christmas Day, Newton felt himself the abandoned, yet specially spared, son of the unitary Father, whom he hoped unaided to find in the heavens. Desiring his beloved mother, her presence and then death stimulated his bursts of mental creativity in 1666 and 1679. Since he was raised puritanically, his science denigrated the senses, suspected the imagination, and reflected orderly self-control. As he was a man of little property, his first exercise of power was in building a system. His system of natural philosophy, bounded by his era's climate of opinion, fitted well with his other intellectual pursuits, and he easily confounded and personally combined the mathematical scientist with the not too skeptical chemist, the lay (but not enthusiastic) prophet, and the chronologist and rediscoverer of the Father's wisdom in pagan antiquity. His omniscience was boundless.

The neurosis that underlay Newton's science also propagated it and was in turn propagated by it. Newton's obsessively competitive manipulation of men and his rationalization of the Royal Society and expansion of its powers institutionalized his world view and molded a new historical archetype—the politician of science, administrator of its establishment, and promoter of a scientific-governmental complex. Moreover, the mere discipline of modern science imprints upon the work style of its adepts (whatever be *their* childhood experiences) something of the psychological character of its founding genius, Newton—closed, systematic, parsimonious, rigid, obsessively fearing error in theory as sin, possessively seeing priorities in discovery as manifestations of grace, and (through Newton's attack upon Baconians) even nonutilitarian. To Manuel, Newton was more Mr. Hyde than Dr. Jekyll, and the portrait of the scientist is a portrait of his science.

Assuming that Newtonian science can be studied psychologically, one must note that Manuel deliberately omits the psychogenetic factor, joy—the satisfaction of autonomous, idle, and rational curiosities. Manuel's characterology is broadly pluralistic: Newton was the resultant of specific social, political, economic, and religious forces, as well as of childhood traumas that doomed him to a disappointing search for "Truth." But Manuel's scientific *Homo sapiens* is no *homo ludens* and cannot completely accommodate the youth who made toy machines, the aging genius who thought himself but a boy playing on the beach. Whether or not Manuel's portrait be prescriptive for all or just some scientists, his "Newtonian" is to be found in other men as well; few have the right to laugh at it—*mutato nomine tabula de te pingitur*.

Washington University

PAUL LUCAS

ENGLISH DECLARATIONS OF INDULGENCE, 1687 AND 1688. By *Richard E. Boyer*. [Studies in European History, Number 15.] (The Hague: Mouton. 1968. Pp. 178. 29 gls.)

THE title of this book and its preface invite the reader to hope that he will find here a detailed examination of the two declarations, the circumstances in which they were issued, and their effects. Furthermore, the preface makes it clear that the author intends to argue the case that James II should be regarded as a martyr to the cause of religious toleration and that he lost his throne principally because of his consistent support of that humane end. It is unfortunate that the reader expecting to find in the book what on the surface it seems to offer will be disappointed. For example, the various Declarations of Indulgence themselves are handled in a seriously misleading way.

The alert reader will sense that this may be the case in the paragraphs dealing with Charles II's Declaration of 1672 where Boyer writes: "Very wisely the Declaration finally contained provisions for Parliamentary control." There follow two paragraphs from the declaration that do not support this assertion—as indeed they could not because "provisions for Parliamentary control" were what the declaration notoriously lacked. When the author moves on to a consideration of James's declarations, he again fails to inspire confidence in his account by, for example, omitting any mention of James's honest but probably impolitic statement which opens the second paragraph of the declaration: "We cannot but heartily wish, as it will easily be believed, that all the people of our dominions were members of the Catholic Church." That important statement, together with the record of his treatment of prominent Anglicans and his efforts to employ Roman Catholics, should make one cautious about writing, or, if reading, about accepting at face value Boyer's simple (but syntactically confusing) assertion that both of James's declarations "safeguarded the Anglican establishment and secularized Church lands." Did James's formal statements of support for the Established Church outweigh his actions against Compton, Sharp, and the fellows of Magdalen College? The historian must see why Archbishop Sancroft and others did not feel that the Church of England had been "safeguarded." Another passage that indicates, to say the least, an extraordinary deficiency of historical imagination on the part of the author begins thus: "One thing badly needed in England was education. Yet when James allowed the Jesuits to start a school in London his action was represented at the time, and for a long time after, as an attack not on ignorance but on Protestantism." Beyond these faults in the analysis of the declarations and the interpretation of evidence, there is an inconsistency in tone and argument that makes the book at best confusing. Many sections have a thoroughly "Whiggish" tone to them; James's dealings with the fellows of Magdalen College are painted in traditional fashion, but then this incident is not related to the supposed argument of the book, so that the evidence does not really support the contention that, at heart, James really wanted toleration for its own sake. The account is further confused by the author's failure to give the issue of the King's dispensing and suspending powers a significant role in the discussion, thus making much of the history of the opposition to the declarations unintelligible.

This book leaves one with the impression that the case for James as a martyr in the cause of religious toleration is not easily supported. It contains numerous typographical errors.

Williams College

DUDLEY W. R. BAHLMAN

DANIEL CARL SOLANDER: *NATURALIST ON THE "ENDEAVOUR."* By Roy Anthony Rauschenberg. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LVIII, Part 8.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1968. Pp. 66. \$2.50.)

ONCE the toast of London and a successful rival of Captain Cook for the headlines, Solander (1733–1782) has been virtually forgotten. Accordingly, it may well be asked why Linnaeus' favorite student and nominee for his successor, a keeper of the British Museum, and a Fellow of the Royal Society could have been passed over so completely. Throughout the past century there was an easy answer: Solander was lazy and, being so, he failed to live up to the expectations of others and to the standards imposed by Victorian mores. After all, so ran the argument, his total publications consisted of two articles and a booklet.

It is the validity of that judgment that Rauschenberg has set out to assess. His con-

clusion, in brief, is that Solander's critics measured him against a later concept of science and failed to relate his contributions to the peculiarities of eighteenth-century natural history. Few new data are presented by the author, but, by placing the evidence in historical context, a new portrait of Solander emerges. It is shown, for example, that he contributed the text for at least sixty-six separate publications written by others and that he identified and classified many of the animals and plants described by contemporary naturalists. Solander's varied activities, from naturalist aboard the *Endeavour* and Sir Joseph Banks's librarian to young assistant at the British Museum and consultant to the Duchess of Portland and other wealthy owners of natural history cabinets, are reconstructed in the light of the contemporary social and scientific scenes. Ironically, it was those activities that caused Solander's later detractors to place him among the very dilettanti whom he aided.

Rauschenberg's well-documented monograph, the first full-scale study in English, is a solid contribution to our understanding of the intellectual and historical framework of a typical eighteenth-century naturalist. A study such as this is of importance to the history of science as well. For, by emphasizing the dimensions and goals of eighteenth-century natural history, the nature of nineteenth-century biology can be seen more clearly.

University of Kansas

JERRY STANNARD

GUINEAS AND GUNPOWDER: BRITISH FOREIGN AID IN THE WARS WITH FRANCE, 1793-1815. By *John M. Sherwig*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 393. \$11.00.)

THE SAUMAREZ PAPERS: SELECTIONS FROM THE BALTIC CORRESPONDENCE OF VICE-ADMIRAL SIR JAMES SAUMAREZ, 1808-1812. Edited by *A. N. Ryan*. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, Volume CX.] ([London:] the Society. 1968. Pp. xxv, 287. 50s.)

THESE two books offer new and important material on British policy, strategic and commercial, during the Napoleonic Wars. Mr. Sherwig's book delves into the financing and arming of successive coalitions by the British government, and, in so doing, lays to rest the legend of "Pitt's gold." Britain entered the war in 1793 with a set of assumptions based on previous wars with France: the small British Army, enlarged by the hiring of German troops, would be an adequate contribution to the alliances that British diplomacy would spin about France, while Britain's main effort would be made on the seas and against French colonies. The legacy of Chatham was, however, unfortunately not applicable to the new circumstances created by the French Revolution. Step by step, Pitt and Grenville were driven reluctantly to the conclusion that, if any coalition against France was to be created and sustained, British subsidies on a large scale would be necessary. By the time of the Third Coalition Pitt was ready to spend seven million pounds a year for subsidies of various sorts. When the focus of resistance to Napoleon shifted to the Iberian Peninsula, where the need was not merely for funds but equally for the supplies and equipment necessary to wage war, Canning made "guineas and gunpowder" the basis of Britain's foreign aid program. In 1813 nearly a million muskets were shipped to Britain's allies, plus immense amounts of other war material, food, and clothing. In the last year of the war, Liverpool's government spent some ten million pounds on foreign aid. Much of this went to the peninsula, where, after painful experience, it was left to Wellington's headquarters to disburse it as the best way of securing the cooperation of Britain's exigent and exasperating Iberian allies. Sherwig rightly points out that

British aid did not create the succession of coalitions against France, but it was a vital factor in cementing alliances once the continental powers had nerved themselves to move, and it became increasingly important in providing the sinews of their war effort in the final years of the struggle. Britain's entire subsidy policy never represented more than a fraction of its military costs, a factor historians occasionally neglect. The economics of subsidization are excluded from examination; that important aspect of British policy still awaits its historian, but, with that exception, Sherwig's book, based on a thorough examination of manuscript and secondary material, well organized and clearly written, is unlikely to be superseded.

After Tilsit, the Baltic, and Sweden in particular, became increasingly important to England. The Baltic area provided a large part of Britain's naval stores. British goods, shipped to Sweden and re-exported to the Continent to avoid Napoleon's commercial restrictions, provided much of the wealth that made the subsidy program possible. Thus, maintaining the Baltic trade, in the face of Danish hostility and the fluctuations of Swedish policy, was a matter of first importance. Mr. Ryan's selections from the correspondence of Sir James Saumarez, who commanded the Baltic squadron from 1808 to 1812, shows how it was done and serves as a vivid reminder of the crucial, if unspectacular, nature of the Royal Navy's duties between Trafalgar and Waterloo. Saumarez was, fortunately, a gifted officer, for the burden of commercial and diplomatic, as well as professional, duties that he carried was staggering. Britain's success in keeping the Baltic open to its commerce largely depended on this strangely forgotten man. Ryan's general introduction would have been more useful if he had included some of the material he developed in his article on trade protection in the Baltic in the *English Historical Review*, LXXIV [July 1959], 443-66. This volume is produced with the Navy Records Society's usual meticulous care.

University of Delaware

RAYMOND A. CALLAHAN

THE HUXLEYS. By *Ronald W. Clark*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1968. Pp. xvi, 398. \$8.95.)

THE SASSOONS. By *Stanley Jackson*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1968. Pp. xiii, 304. \$7.95.)

OVER the past hundred years or so, a surprising number of Sassoons and Huxleys have led public lives of considerable interest and significance. Over the same period each family has developed a private life, almost an ethos, of distinctive character. Stanley Jackson's *The Sassoons* and Ronald Clark's *The Huxleys* are fascinating books because they succeed in depicting each family's peculiar ethos and in making clear the rhythm of each family's development. Neither book, however, can properly be considered according to the canons that apply to the work of professional historians. This is partly because the authors have written without scholarly apparatus or academic pretension, and with, perhaps, an eye on that affluent general reader who has read *The Rothschilds*. More important, however, is the fact that neither Jackson nor Clark found it appropriate to come seriously to grips with the historical problems involved in the more significant public activities of the most eminent Sassoons and Huxleys. In *The Sassoons*, for example, there are no contribution to business history and no evidence that Jackson had access to important business archives. In *The Huxleys* there is no contribution to intellectual history. Possibly an exception should be made for the way each author handles the literary figure who, curiously, turned up in each family at the beginning of this century. Jackson's work on Siegfried Sassoon, especially the moving account of Siegfried's dilemma

during World War I, is good literary history; so is Clark's perceptive treatment of Aldous Huxley.

Each book, however, is much more interesting for what it tells us of the family than for what it tells us of any individual Huxley or Sassoon. Both the Sassoons and the Huxleys have produced successful men according to a strikingly similar generational pattern. Thomas Henry Huxley, the founder of the family, was, in a sense, of the first Huxley generation. He remains, perhaps, the most successful Huxley. The main line of the family passed through Leonard, the son of Thomas, whose success, for a Huxley, was modest. In the third generation Aldous and Julian, sons of Leonard, reached a standard of achievement more like that of their grandfather than of their father. David Sassoon, who fled Baghdad and arrived in India in 1832, must be considered the modern founder of the Sassoons. His enormous success as a businessman overshadows the achievements of his descendants. His sons, who changed the center of family activity to England and lived as courtiers and men of fashion, apparently allowed the business to deteriorate. How much financial benefit accompanied marriage into the Perugia family and the Rothschild family is apparently not known. The third generation produced Siegfried, and Sir Victor, who re-established the financial base of the family and translated the main sphere of the family business from Asia to the Western Hemisphere.

The two families possess a similar pattern of generational energy, and it is entertaining to notice that, not only did each produce an important literary talent in the third generation, but that, also, both Aldous Huxley and Siegfried Sassoon were attracted to Garsington Manor and Lady Ottoline Marrell's antiwar coterie. Apparently they did not meet.

The two families were in most respects, however, very different indeed. The Huxleys were determinedly English, bluff, and straightforward. They have had as their cardinal family characteristic (acquired or inherited?) a genius for publicity. The ability of numerous Huxleys to arouse popular interest and sway public opinion is extraordinary. The family has had a taste for high-minded endeavor and has retained, from the days of Thomas, an aura of immense and well-deserved respectability. They have turned their attentions to a wide variety of causes and have zestfully promoted Darwinism, tea, conservationism, the zoo in Regent's Park, spiritualism, and the eye exercises developed by one W. H. Bates.

The Sassoon genius has been adaptability. The Sassoons have succeeded by doing what they have always done, only by doing it in a way adapted to their current environment. Before David Sassoon emigrated to Bombay in the early nineteenth century, the Sassoons had been slightly alien merchant princes and courtiers in Baghdad, perhaps for a thousand years. Only on the surface was the step taken by David Sassoon's sons a long one. They became slightly alien merchant princes in London and courtiers to that English pasha, the Prince of Wales. In the twentieth century Victor has demonstrated the characteristic Sassoon genius through the ease by which he transformed Shanghai real-estate development into Nassau real-estate development.

Neither Clark nor Jackson has approached his subject analytically, and neither has produced a work that can serve as a model for scholars interested in family history. Both have written as enthusiastic admirers of their respective families, and both have produced highly entertaining, somewhat gossipy books that are of only marginal interest to professional historians. Nevertheless, patterns and questions emerging from these family histories do suggest that serious historians might find family history, especially comparative family history, a subject deserving more attention.

University of Toronto

R. J. HELMSTADTER

LORD ACTON AND HIS TIMES. By *David Mathew*. (University: University of Alabama Press. 1968. Pp. 397. \$10.00.)

ARCHBISHOP Mathew describes this puzzling book as "the first attempt to provide within a larger study an extensive biography" of Acton. It is certainly not the first biography; that honor belongs to Gertrude Himmelfarb's *Lord Acton: A Study in Conscience and Politics* (1952). Nor is it clear what is the subject of the "larger study." The book is essentially a series of vignettes, a collection of essays often unrelated to each other and occasionally unrelated to Acton. It represents no advance in method on Mathew's earlier study, *Acton: The Formative Years* (1946), from which three chapters have been borrowed. Much of the book consists of easy and graceful sketches of the various social worlds in which Acton found himself, generally concluding with the observation that Acton did not really belong in those worlds. Mathew is at his best in evoking the atmosphere of the Victorian upper classes, but this is of only tangential relevance to either the history of the times or the life of Acton. Mathew fails even to construct a connected narrative of Acton's personal life, which might have supplemented Himmelfarb's intellectual biography.

The tragedy of all this is that there are substantial historical issues in Acton's career which Mathew fails to discuss and hardly seems to realize. He does not consider the most serious unresolved question for Acton's biographers, the breach with Döllinger after 1879. Acton's quarrels with his Church are explained oversimply by the Syllabus of Errors and his general dislike of bishops (the archbishop is sensitive on this point). At times Mathew gives the impression that the goal and culmination of Acton's career was his service as lord in waiting to Queen Victoria. Perhaps the one original contribution is the discussion of Acton's private religious life.

Mathew's cavalier treatment of historical issues is paralleled by a casualness in the use of sources. In addition to a work which it would be immodest to mention, he does not cite MacDougall's *The Acton-Newman Relations* (1962), which helps explain Acton's eventual submission to the Vatican decrees, or the second volume of the Acton-Döllinger correspondence edited by Conzemius (1965). Mathew has consulted a variety of archives, but not in any systematic manner. He is in error in saying that Acton's correspondence with Lady Blennerhassett "seems to have disappeared"; this unused but rich source is in the possession of the Douglas Woodruffs.

This is a book which should not have been written. Deficient even as mere biography, it contributes virtually nothing to history. Unfortunately its defects are such as to be evident primarily to specialists. The general public, impressed by its pleasant style and apparent learning, may be misled into thinking that this is the substantial biography of Acton which, in fact, remains unwritten.

University of Minnesota

JOSEF L. ALTHOLZ

EGYPT AND CROMER: A STUDY IN ANGLO-EGYPTIAN RELATIONS. By *Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1969. Pp. xiii, 236. \$8.50.)

MILNER'S YOUNG MEN: THE "KINDERGARTEN" IN EDWARDIAN IMPERIAL AFFAIRS. By *Walter Nimocks*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 234. \$7.75.)

EGYPT was perpetually more a matter of embarrassment than pride to sensitive Englishmen, who found it difficult either to defend Gladstone's intervention in 1882 or to conceive of a means for honorable withdrawal. As Bernard Shaw pointedly reminded his countrymen in 1921, successive British governments had fortunately specified no date

when they affirmed their “absolutely solemn pledge” to leave Egypt to the Egyptians: “consequently an evacuation . . . practically up to the Judgment Day may be considered as in fulfilment of our pledge.”

Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid, acknowledging her debt to the Robinson-Gallagher thesis, has provided a penetrating assessment of the British predicament. She begins with the invasion that was the prelude to a seventy-year occupation, but her focus is upon the period dominated by Sir Evelyn Baring, the first earl of Cromer, who as British consul general and High Commissioner, governed Egypt indirectly by governing its governors. Is the author justified in according such prominence to a single administrator, however exalted his station or lengthy his tenure? She would undoubtedly offer the defense, and rightly so, that in this age of imperial proconsuls Cromer was at least as important for the attitudes he embodied as the powers he wielded.

It is as a study of incipient nationalist forces in Egypt that *Egypt and Cromer* makes its most valuable contribution. Here Lutfi draws skillfully upon sources from Egyptian as well as British archives. It is surprising, however, that she has not consulted the Gladstone Papers where the moral dilemma is most acutely reflected. It is in fact with regard to British politicians and political situations that the author stands on weakest ground: she draws too sharp a distinction between Whig and Radical opinion within Gladstone's second government—Lord Granville and Sir Charles Dilke, Liberals of antithetical persuasions, testified to a fundamental unity on Egyptian questions—and mistakenly concludes that the Liberals took precipitate action in Egypt to save the chances of Irish Home Rule.

Giving due credit to Cromer's concern for Egyptian welfare, his dedication to justice, and his high sense of purpose, Lutfi dwells upon his inability to perceive the fact that his reforms stimulated Egyptian demands for responsible institutions. To these demands he was insensitive, even callous, convinced that Islam was inimical to constitutional development and an impediment to moral progress. Britain's duty, as he defined it, was to establish in Egypt a system “which will enable the mass of the population [Muslims] to be governed according to the Code of Christian morality.” This was an ambition, surely not an ignoble one, characteristic of a generation that despaired of the chances of transplanting the seeds of democracy in alien, non-Western soils. Lord Dufferin, who went to Egypt on a fact-finding mission in November 1882, declared Egyptians too afflicted by “childishness” to qualify for responsible government. Lutfi finds this “A strange epithet to apply to a people who had just gone through a revolution in order to acquire a constitutional life.” Yet, particularly to a Whig like Dufferin, violent revolution was hardly evidence that Egyptians were suited to work the institutions to which they aspired.

The closing years of the century saw the British intervene with greater force in South Africa, but here they restored autonomous institutions in record time, only to repent later of their haste. The architect of South African reconstruction was Sir Alfred (later Viscount) Milner, who had been Cromer's reverential pupil in Egypt and who in turn inspired a fanatical devotion among those who served under him. It is about *Milner's Young Men*, the *kinder* of his “Kindergarten,” that Walter Nimocks has written. Dedicated to the highest ideals of public service, they lived and worked in the shadow of the High Commissioner, devising schemes for the recovery and unification of South Africa. Gradually they turned their attention to the task of giving an “organic unity” to the British Empire. Not nearly so successful as they tended to presume, they were defeated in their larger purpose by the First World War, which fostered dominion independence and cast the slogans of imperial unity into disrepute.

As a narrative of the activities of these enterprising young men who were bound by their common Oxford experience, Nimocks' book succeeds admirably. Yet its conclusions are often tentative, and the material is not firmly rooted in the political and intellectual context of Edwardian times. Milner, a more enigmatic and perhaps less attractive figure than Cromer, exerted an influence that the author has not entirely explained. And there were other Milnerites, not properly members of the "Kindergarten," whose careers and writings might have been brought to bear. Too little attention is paid to the developments at home against which Milner's followers reacted: while it is true that the *Round Table*, the organ of "Kindergarten" thought, refrained from taking a stand on tariff reform, no imperial topic in this period can be considered apart from this crucial issue.

Nimocks makes only passing reference to the nonwhite populations of South Africa who, by and large, did not engage the attention of the "Kindergarten" group. And yet Lionel Curtis, the "Prophet" of the movement, was among the first men of influence to argue that a self-governing India deserved a place among the nations of the Commonwealth. A development of the wartime years, this subject lies beyond the compass of the present study. But Curtis and other members of the round table deserve credit for a sensitivity to non-Western nationalisms that imperial administrators lacked in Cromer's day.

Barnard College

STEPHEN E. KOSS

LAND FIT FOR HEROES: THE PLANNING OF BRITISH RECONSTRUCTION, 1916-1919. By *Paul Barton Johnson*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 540. \$14.75.)

THE First World War, as its survivors all too soon came to realize, was not a war to end all wars; nor had it made the world safe for democracy. It took even less time to prove hollow the rhetoric that a new and better British society would rise from the ashes of the old. "The Government promised a land fit for Heroes to live in," a workers' council irately recalled during the 1926 general strike; "you had to be a Hero to live in it." It is from this legacy of promises unredeemed that Paul Barton Johnson derives his title and his theme.

It was customary for contemporaries to write off the reconstruction experiment as a predetermined failure, or to ascribe its unhappy fate to the mendacity of scheming politicians. "Rich in problems, poor in results," Dr. Christopher Addison, David Lloyd George's Minister of Reconstruction, remarked of his assignment. Johnson, who does not dispute Addison's verdict, is painstakingly careful to distinguish between opportunities lost and opportunities ignored. It is his contention—a refreshing one in our day—that "errors of method do not condemn an essential idea." That the reconstructionists failed in their ultimate objective is undeniable. Yet Johnson conclusively proves that they did not fail for want of sincerity or application. Their efforts were worthy of them, if not the results.

Based solidly upon exhaustive research in the Public Record Office, Johnson's study chronicles "the planning of reconstruction" from the closing months of Asquith's ministry until "1922 blighted government plans and buried successes beneath the rubble of a panic retrenchment." The author's sympathies are patent, but he assumes the "task . . . not . . . to assign guilt but to probe causes and define the context." He guides the reader through "a world of committee sessions, arguments voiced and echoed, memoranda and counter-memoranda." The path, not an easy one to follow, is illumi-

nated by a gentle use of irony, eloquent prose, and compassionate perceptions about men, events, and history. There are pointed references to problems of reconstruction after 1945 and subtle implications about present-day British difficulties.

Though Johnson's focus is upon institutional development, he has not discounted ideological factors. His discussion of Whitley Councils and "Whitleyism" is superb and leads him into the inevitable debate over whether war produced a "moral transformation" that created or quickened revolutionary social change. The reconstructionists, he cautions, "were seriously wrong in overrating . . . the readiness of a united Britain for innovation and sacrifice." Indeed, important groups within political society imbibed antithetical lessons from a common experience, from which they emerged eager to throw off wartime controls. "War had created a change in the national mentality, far more favorable to reform—but not sufficiently favorable to obviate the need for preachment and exhortation."

There was, however, more to the reconstructionists' failure than their inability to appeal to public opinion. They had not anticipated the armistice that intruded upon them, nor the fact that peace would follow hard upon it. They depended upon ministers badly overworked and prematurely distracted by electoral concerns. How could they attain a revival of production, a precondition to their success, and at the same time effect a necessary harmony between labor and capital? Their frustrations were compounded by "the very success of demobilization [which] daily pushed thousands into the labor exchanges," by price fluctuations, by dislocations in world trade, and by prevailing uncertainty, even within the government, of the government's intentions. In the last analysis, reconstruction was "overrun by events," and the reconstructionists were thwarted by the sheer enormity of their problem.

For a book of this scope and magnitude, there are few things with which to quibble. One might have hoped for better identification of secondary figures, whose influence is often difficult to gauge. The composite footnotes are occasionally confusing, the metaphors sometimes obtrusive, and the italicized subheadings within chapters more a distraction than a help. But this volume stands as a striking achievement, as stimulating as it is massive.

Barnard College

STEPHEN E. KOSS

CHURCHILL AS HISTORIAN. By *Maurice Ashley*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1968. Pp. 246. \$6.95.)

CHURCHILL REVISED: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT. By *A. J. P. Taylor et al.* (New York: Dial Press. 1969. Pp. 274. \$5.95.)

UPON completing his undergraduate work at Oxford in 1929 and not having a job, Maurice Ashley was offered, through Keith Feiling, a half-time position with Winston Churchill, who was looking for someone to help him in assembling the material for and writing a life of the first Duke of Marlborough. Though the compensation was nine hundred pounds per year, Ashley who was a "radical and socialist," at first turned down the offer, but changed his mind over the weekend.

The picture of Churchill as an arrogant, ill-tempered taskmaster does not emerge from Ashley's portrait. Although Ashley confesses that he would not have "cared" to be Churchill's valet, chauffeur, or secretary, he, himself, was always treated with the utmost kindness. We get some insight into the relationship of Churchill and his corps of assistants. As Ashley puts it, the duties of Churchill's assistants were to feed him material, to make "sympathetic and cooperative noises when Churchill dictated," and

then to "ferret out the facts and get the points checked." Sparing no expense, Churchill, as is well known, preferred to read from galley proofs almost from the first draft, galleys that were substantially rewritten five or six times or more. Most of Ashley's volume is taken up with a critique of Churchill's histories. As Ashley is sensible, sensitive, and discreet, we are treated to no startling revelations.

In *Churchill Revised: A Critical Assessment*, there is an attempt by some of the contributors to be more polemical. Limitations of space prohibit an extended discussion of these essays, but most of the contributors do not view Churchill with unmixed feelings. For A. J. P. Taylor, Churchill was a "statesman" rather than a "politician." Behind the façade of a "cheeky individualism," he was essentially a conservative, with a "tenacious defense of the past" and no view of the future. Raised up by the British people, he failed them, whereas the "British ruling class did their best to keep him down and he preserved them."

For Robert Rhodes James, Churchill was a politician, but a politician who refused to bow to popular opinion. James holds that Churchill was "one of the most astonishing men of modern times," but was as "unreal, as remote, and as irrelevant a personality" for his contemporaries as he now is "to the young men and women who were unborn when the war ended," and for whom he has "no message."

J. H. Plumb offers an excellent discussion and critique of Churchill's histories. He calls him the "last historical symbol of the Whig tradition—a tradition that was dying and only sprang into renewed vitality through the stress of war." For Churchill, history "was a living reality which imbued all he did or said."

Basil Liddell Hart takes up Churchill as a military strategist and concludes that, in the First World War, Churchill received more blame than was his due, whereas in the Second World War "the value of his contributions were overrated."

Anthony Storr, a practicing psychiatrist, takes upon himself a task that he admits "is full of risk," that is to "analyze" a man whom he had never known personally. According to Storr, Churchill forced himself "to go against his own inner nature." He "was neither naturally strong nor naturally particularly courageous, but . . . made himself both in spite of his temperamental and physical endowment."

Both Ashley's volume and *Churchill Revised* add to our knowledge of the now-becoming-legendary Sir Winston Churchill; they are welcome additions to the body of material that will be necessary in making a major assessment of the man and his work.

Brooklyn College

SAMUEL J. HURWITZ

DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT. By *Thomas Barman*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1969. Pp. xiv, 273. \$6.95.)

For thirty years Thomas Barman covered European diplomacy from a variety of locations. Starting as a reporter with the *Times* in 1932, he was assigned to Scandinavia; later he joined the BBC where he reported the great events of the contemporary era. In his memoirs he has presented his judgments on men and incidents with praiseworthy force and candor. Though the narrative rambles and shows little organization, the reader will find Barman's comments a refreshing change from the innocuous reminiscences all too common in British diplomatic circles.

Included in the personal testimony is the description of Dawson and Barrington-Ward at the *Times* in the heyday of appeasement, which will surely interest historians. Though it does not conflict greatly with conventional interpretations, the characterizations are chilling in the obstinacy they recall. It again emphasizes that there were oppo-

nents of appeasement, but the ruling clique steadfastly refused them a hearing. Barman's career took him to Moscow after World War II, and his remarks on the origins of the cold war and American foreign policy are particularly pungent. No historian will accept his views without reservation; at many points his conclusions even appear simplistic. Barman is, nevertheless, sensitive to the changes in world power that have so strongly affected England during this century. It is a pity that many of the diplomats he covered did not possess the same degree of global perspective.

Written with grace and wit, these memoirs should interest historians concerned with the period since 1930. They will not find definitive answers but, rather, the considered opinions of an acute observer who lived and worked through it all.

University of Arizona

RICHARD A. COSGROVE

REBELS AND WHIPS: AN ANALYSIS OF DISSENSION, DISCIPLINE AND COHESION IN BRITISH POLITICAL PARTIES. By *Robert J. Jackson*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 346. \$10.00.)

PARTY loyalty is the political cement of modern British politics. A cohesive, disciplined, two-party system is the result. Students of British parties suggest three reasons for this cohesiveness: first, the structure of the political system with its union of executive and legislative branches (Jennings and Duverger); then, the development of a centralized mass party organization leading to institutionalized norms of behavior (McKenzie, Ostrogorski, and Lowell); and, finally, the nature of British political culture with its party consensus on values and beliefs (Beer). As a result, studies of British politics have concentrated on analysis of elections, the structure of party organizations, the function of the civil service, the impact of pressure groups, and the role of ideology.

It is surprising that parliamentary party discipline has not received as much attention as have these other factors. Previous work in this area has been limited to the formal machinery of party discipline, and it has neglected the study of actual party rebellions. Mr. Jackson's book represents the first large-scale attempt to explore party discipline by analyzing party rebellions from 1945 to 1964 and the systems of rewards and punishments used by party organizations in this period.

From Jackson's chronicle of public protests we learn that, contrary to the accepted view of the docile, submissive back bench M. P., there were a significant number of rebellions (48 Conservative, 76 Labour) between 1945 and 1964, with more revolts in the governmental party than in the opposition. The number and nature of the rebellions varied with the size of the parliamentary majority. Conservative revolts tended to be over domestic issues, Labour revolts over foreign policy.

Also, very few M.P.'s were punished (expulsion, loss of office, withdrawal of party Whips) for rebellion, but many received rewards for loyalty (promotion, patronage, and trips abroad). Jackson shows, by an analysis of individual cases of political discipline, that there is not a clear relationship between rewards and punishments and party cohesion. His analysis seems to corroborate the comment of Aneurin Bevan, the foremost postwar Labour rebel, that "a firmer lid . . . is hardly the recipe for a boiling pot."

Jackson argues that rebellions and recourse to party discipline are merely public symptoms that a process of communication between the leaders and the backbenchers had failed to operate. Thus Jackson offers a fourth explanation for the cohesiveness of British parties: that parties have a sufficient process of adjustment and accommodation to maintain political stability in Parliament and prevent intraparty dissension.

Although this thesis seems plausible, Jackson's work on rebellions does not go far

enough in supporting it. By limiting himself to an analysis of official rebellions in the Commons, he never really focuses on the process of accommodation and adjustment, most of which takes place outside of Parliament in the preintroductory stages of a bill, at party conferences, or in private meetings. This argument tends, moreover, to de-emphasize the importance of major divisive issues like nationalization, unilateralism, Suez, and immigration, which might suggest that the proper analysis of the road from Whitehall to Westminster is not necessarily through the division lobbies.

University of Pennsylvania

STUART SAMUELS

THE FENIAN CHIEF: A BIOGRAPHY OF JAMES STEPHENS. By *Desmond Ryan*. With an introductory memoir by *Patrick Lynch*. (Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press. [1969.] Pp. xxv, 390. \$10.00.)

JOHN DILLON: A BIOGRAPHY. By *F. S. L. Lyons*. ([Chicago:] University of Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 516. \$12.50.)

The Fenian Chief has a double interest: as the last work of Desmond Ryan, a pupil of Pearse, and as the first biography of James Stephens, who founded the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Dublin in 1858. The Fenian movement owed much to his determination and talent for organization. Unfortunately Stephens was egotistical, boastful, vain, and abusive. He quarreled not only with Mitchel, Meagher, and Doheny, the surviving Young Ireland leaders, but also with John O'Mahony and most of his Fenian associates. In 1866 he was deposed as leader in favor of Colonel Thomas Kelly.

Ryan makes no attempt to idealize Stephens or to conceal his faults. He describes the endless personal feuds and recriminations that beset the movement and now make dreary reading. The book is based on printed sources and has a useful biographical index.

It seems extraordinary that Stephens should so long have lacked a competent biographer, yet a similar posthumous mischance befell John Dillon. So completely were the Home Rulers discredited by Sinn Féin in 1918 that they suffered a half century of scorn and neglect. Only now is the balance being redressed. Professor Lyons' definitive biography of Dillon is an outstanding example of such tardy retributive justice. Planned on a grand scale, it is based on original sources hitherto unused. Its scholarly detachment is tempered by understanding.

If not the most successful politician, Dillon was certainly the most impressive figure among Irish nationalists following Parnell. He was a man of profound feeling and strong intellect, whose nature was deeply divided. From his father, a Young Irelander, he inherited a disposition toward militancy that showed itself early in his sympathy with the Fenians, and later in his courageous defense at Westminster of the idealism that inspired the Easter Rising. Yet Dillon abhorred violence and put his trust in constitutional methods. A passionate lover of Ireland, he also loved the House of Commons and revered its traditions. C. P. Scott called him "the best Liberal in the House."

A devout, lifelong Catholic except for a brief period of early doubt, Dillon opposed clerical domination in politics. His wide reading in literature, philosophy, and history saved him from provincialism. It is curious, however, that Dillon, unlike Birrell, seems to have had no interest in the Abbey Theatre or in the Irish literary revival—did he never read Yeats, Synge, or George Moore?

Intellectually he was close to leading English liberals such as Haldane, Morley, and Bryce. Dillon's eloquent tribute to Gladstone, who had twice put him in jail, reveals a magnanimity like that later shown by Nehru toward the British.

More than any other Home Ruler, Dillon was international in outlook. He disapproved of the Triple Entente, which made England "the ally of Russia." As an Irishman, he sympathized with small nations like Egypt and Persia, helpless pawns in the quarrels of great empires. In 1914 he declared that his failure "to interest Liberals in what seemed to me the manifest and inevitable trend of Grey's policy has been the most disheartening and tragic in my long public life."

Lyons traces in detail the parliamentary tactics and personal feuds that bedeviled Home Rule between 1891 and 1914. Dillon emerges as a man of marked independence and principle. Earlier than Redmond he realized the potential threat from Sinn Fein. The Easter Rising and the Black and Tan war were for Dillon a period of utmost anguish, not only because of his own repudiation by East Mayo, which he had represented for thirty-three years, but because of the polarization of political extremes, which he had always dreaded and which he held responsible for the insensate violence that was destroying his beloved country—a violence he was fated to witness in Dublin.

Though an agrarian radical in the 1880's, Dillon, a prosperous businessman, was conservative on labor questions. As Lyons indicates, he was hostile to Plunkett and the cooperative movement and seemingly indifferent to the appalling Dublin slums (to him, Larkin was no more than "a ruffian"). After 1918 he was obsessed by Bolshevism and fearful of its influence on Sinn Fein and on the British Labour party. For the problems of the infant Free State, he showed no comprehension, perhaps because violence had succeeded where parliamentary means had failed. Dillon's judgments upon Griffith, Cosgrave, and Kevin O'Higgins were harsh and uncharitable.

Lyons includes a poignant chapter dealing with Dillon's private life. An ideally happy marriage was shattered in 1907 by the death of his wife following childbirth, leaving Dillon a widower with five sons and a daughter. Two of his sons, James and Myles, are leading figures in Irish political and academic life today.

University of Washington

GIOVANNI COSTIGAN

MEDIEVALISM AND THE IDEOLOGIES OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT:

THE WORLD AND WORK OF LA CURNE DE SAINTE-PALAYE. By
Lionel Gossman. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 377. \$10.00.)

MESMERISM AND THE END OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT IN FRANCE. By
Robert Darnton. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 218. \$5.95.)

It is impossible to give a general definition of the Enlightenment; even so, its complexities focus into a unity, and the nature of this concentration is brought out by Professor Gossman in a subtle analogy. The Enlightenment, he says, is "like a language . . . , imposing by its very nature certain modes of thought on those who use it, while remaining always the expression . . . of particular desires and meanings and a response to particular conditions." This being so, a methodological problem is posed, for how can the historian describe a selected aspect of this diversity and at the same time convey an impression of the underlying unity, of the authentic accent of the language common to so many conflicting individuals and interest groups? In the most significant recent trend in the study of ideas in the eighteenth century, the problem has been solved by concentration upon the assessment of a single idea or concept throughout the period, as exemplified in the magisterial theses of Manzi and Erhard. Gossman suggests a different method of approach, one which arouses both our enthusiasm and our apprehensions. For, while it goes to the heart of the problems interesting the

general historian, it also brings us into baffling tangles of nuances and possibilities that conventional historiography tends to bypass. The task is to combine the history of ideas with the history of social classes. The world of the nobles of the robe was also the world of many of the eighteenth-century French scholars; Gossman attempts to show how the medievalists were influenced both by their social milieu and its political aspirations, and also by the pervading ethos of the Enlightenment.

Thus, we have here much more than a scholarly biography of La Curne de Sainte-Palaye and an account of his manifold erudite ventures—the Glossary of Old French, the essays into the comparative method in philology and into problems of textual criticism, the study of the history of chivalry and of the troubadours. We have more even than an attempt to define the spirit of eighteenth-century historiography. The aim is, essentially, to place the thought of Sainte-Palaye and his circle into the pattern of class concepts and aspirations. There are perceptive analyses of the Burgundian patriciate and its intellectual interests, of the *Académie des Inscriptions*, which was a haunt of radical speculation long before the philosophes took over the academy proper, and of the “Paroisse” of Mme. Doublet de Persan, whose circle, says Gossman, “can probably be considered a nursery of the so-called Patriot movement of the eighties of the century.” Occasionally, the author’s generalizations about the relationship between ideas and social class are too schemetic to be enlightening, but examples of this sort are not typical. This is an unusual book, whose continual and sometimes brilliant insights make one discontented with more conventional approaches to the history of ideas and to social history generally.

Dr. Darnton’s scholarly and entertaining study of mesmerism resembles Gossman’s book in the breadth of its approach to the subject. It does more than reinforce with new details the story of the dabblers in magic and mystery who figure in the pages of Viatte and Monglond; instead of treating the *illuminés* and pseudo scientists of the 1780’s exclusively as forerunners of Romanticism in thought and literature, it considers their importance within the cadres of political and social history. With originality and shrewdness, Darnton explores the borderline between true science and mystification to show how it was that mesmerism could be honestly believed in, by some, as a “scientific” and spiritually uplifting discipline. As a result, there was a genuine, as well as a factitious opposition to the academics and government officials who tried to suppress it. In differing degrees and with varying intensity, the attack on government in the Parlement by D’Eprémesnil and Duport and in the Assembly of Notables by La Fayette and the attack on despotism and privilege by pamphleteers like Brissot, Carra, and Bergasse had some connection with the mesmerist grudge against the “establishment.”

For some there was a lesson about the Rousseauistic state of nature in Mesmer’s theory of the vital universal fluids; for others there was genuine indignation against official intolerance; for many more, the cult appeared as a sort of frivolous lay Jansenism, a cause that was being persecuted and could be supported simply to cock a snook at authority. Mornet’s famous thesis, though now under attack on methodological grounds, still stands as a masterpiece; even so, it was always weak at that very point where the general historian, as against the historian of literature, is most anxious for information: where ideas actually become a force within a revolutionary agitation. We need more work on the conductors through which the electrical connections between ideas and actions are finally made, and Darnton’s book, in one of these fields of study, is a significant contribution.

University of Leicester

JOHN McMANNERS

LA LORRAINE DANS L'EUROPE DES LUMIÈRES: ACTES DU COLLOQUE ORGANISÉ PAR LA FACULTÉ DES LETTRES ET DES SCIENCES HUMAINES DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE NANCY (NANCY, 24-27 OCTOBRE 1966). [Annales de l'Est, Mémoire Number 34.] (Nancy: Faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines de l'Université de Nancy. 1968. Pp. 376.)

THE twenty-three essays collected for publication in this volume vary greatly in quality and length. Some are only a few pages long, while one paper runs to sixty-seven pages. Some studies are distillations of work already published; others are rough, working papers for projected research; still others are tightly reasoned and finished essays. Some of the papers are profusely documented, but on others the reader is asked to exercise his faith. One essay deals with international relations, one with social history, three with economic history, and fifteen with cultural and intellectual history; three essays are difficult to classify either because they are so general or because they do not deal with the stated themes. As a group, the papers are fairly well held together by two themes: the political, economic, and cultural relationships between Lorraine and Europe and the role played by Stanislas Lesczynski, *le philosophe bienfaisant*, in the history of Lorraine.

Considered together, these essays have two strong points to recommend them: First, they picture Lorraine in a European setting; their authors cannot be charged with antiquarianism. The lengthy study by Georges Livet on Lorraine and international relations sets the theme nicely and illustrates again the mastery of manuscript sources that students of the old regime have come to expect from him (see the review of his *L'intendance d'Alsace sous Louis XIV, 1648-1715* [*AHR*, LXIII (Oct. 1957), 105]). Pierre Léon uses his study of industry in Lorraine as an example of broader themes in French economic history and challenges Paul Mantoux's thesis of the secondary and imitative role of French as compared to British industrial development. Albert Ronsin's essay on Lorraine and the international book trade is an imaginative topic and reveals both sound organization and brilliant utilization of sources. A second strength of these essays lies in the attention they give to the achievements of Stanislas' predecessor, Duke Leopold (1698-1729).

There are, however, decided weaknesses in the picture of eighteenth-century Lorraine presented in this volume. Very little is said about regional particularism, though Pierre Marot mentions this subject in his excellent study of "Les origines de la Société royale des Sciences et des Belles-lettres de Nancy." No significant attention is given to the history of Lorraine after the death of Stanislas in 1766 or to the importance of Germanic culture in Lorraine; this last lacuna may be explained by the fact that the colloquium at which these papers were given was in honor of the bicentenary of the incorporation of Lorraine into France. No one heeded the advice of Livet, who observed, in a note, that the work of the French intendants should not be left in "the shadow" in order to augment Stanislas' reputation. Finally, despite the attention given to Stanislas (five of the essays deal directly with him), these studies do not answer major questions about his life and ideas: What did he personally write? How devoted was he to Lorraine, as opposed to his constant quest for regaining the Polish throne? Stanislas may have been able to reconcile his devout character with his strong support of reason, the harmony of the universe, and "bon sens," as René Tavenaux pointed out in his penetrating study of "L'univers religieux de Stanislas." But it would be interesting to know how Stanislas' contemporaries viewed the fusion of these apparently contradictory characteristics.

These observations notwithstanding, this volume is admirable for its breadth of

view, its generally high quality of scholarship, and, not the least, for the fact that the authors frequently refer to other contributors' studies in their own essays. This last characteristic helps to integrate the papers into a fairly consistent whole. Regional and provincial studies are valuable in and for themselves, but when, like this volume, they are deliberately planned and executed with broader topics in mind, their value as historical literature is enhanced.

Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

THADD E. HALL

JOSEPH DE MAISTRE: ÉTUDE SUR LA VIE ET SUR LA DOCTRINE D'UN
MATÉRIALISTE MYSTIQUE. By *Robert Triomphe*. [Travaux d'histoire éthico-
politique, Number 14.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1968. Pp. 637.)

THIS massive dissertation constitutes, in fact, two books, quite different in purpose and scope. The first and larger of these amounts to what could be called an "anti-biography," that is, a documented commentary of the famous line that Maistre himself wrote in a rare access of self-deprecation: "I do not know what is the life of a scoundrel, I have never been one, but that of a honest man is abominable." The author follows the great man's career throughout all of its phases, carefully picking and interpreting all the evidence to be found—mainly in Maistre's own writings—to bring out the many human weaknesses and petty passions that debunk the heroic statue handed down by loving children to generations of admirers. The conclusion suggests that much of the famous literary production was, in a sense, a compensation for frustrated worldly ambitions. While this is a useful contribution toward a more objective biography, the task is done at times with unpleasant acridity: "Even his familiar letters and his letters to his children carry the stamp of pharisaism, and contained hardly a line that was not written in order to seek the plaudits of posterity, dictated by the solicitude for his own glory." One suspects that this attitude may have been itself inspired by frustration, since we learn from a footnote that Mr. Triomphe was curtly refused access to the private papers of Maistre, and this of course precluded any pretension toward writing a comprehensive biography.

The second part presents two substantial essays on the influence of Greek and German culture on Maistre's thought. In the first, Maistre was mainly attracted by Platonism and the esoteric religious currents, for which he was prepared by his Masonic experiences. As for Germany, though Maistre professed to hate almost everything in its people and culture, it appears that his politico-religious system owes much to the writings of a J. A. Starck, a Lutheran divine who may have been a crypto-Catholic. This probing into the intellectual world of Maistre also brings its share of myth debunking: "The great enemy of Jansenism, of Protestantism, of deism, of atheism, is a Jansenist, a Protestant, an atheist, unknown to himself."

As is usual when a pedestrian historian reviews the work of a literary colleague, he is tempted to point out the several instances where relevant and recent books have been ignored and to find that imaginative deductions sometimes overreach the borders of well-established facts. But, on the whole, this is undoubtedly an impressive piece of scholarly research that should remain as a landmark in Maistrian studies.

University of Notre Dame

G. DE BERTIER DE SAUVIGNY

DE STAËL-DU PONT LETTERS: CORRESPONDENCE OF MADAME DE STAËL AND PIERRE SAMUEL DU PONT DE NEMOURS AND OF OTHER MEMBERS OF THE NECKER AND DU PONT FAMILIES. Edited and translated by *James F. Marshall*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968. Pp. xxvii, 400. \$12.50.)

THIS handsome book gives the student of the Atlantic civilization a picture of the complex relationships of two prominent figures and some of their relatives between 1778 and 1818. The letters, edited by a professor of French at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, are mainly from the rich resources of the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library. Urbane translations of the correspondence, which capture the flavor of the French, are provided. Not all of the letters, however, are original; some are copies made by earlier scholars. One regrets, furthermore, the absence of the relevant manuscripts from the archives of the château of Coppet, since they would have provided a more complete story. The editorial comments are highly valuable, but several notes are incorrect or misleading. For example, the reference in a letter by Du Pont to a raid by the English and Russians in 1799 concerned the invasion of the Batavian Republic and not the events indicated by the editor, and the explanation for the French expedition to San Domingo is inaccurate and fails to take into account the broader imperial objectives of Napoleon.

The correspondence revealed the early hopes of both Du Pont and Mme. de Staël for the Napoleonic regime and their subsequent disillusionment. Both ridiculed the Concordat, with Du Pont referring to "le fumier de la theologie [*sic*]." Also common to both were their Americanism and their admiration for Jefferson. Du Pont, though noting American backwardness in the fine arts, lauded the freedom and beauty of "the commercial republic."

Du Pont and De Staël, actively engaged in intellectual pursuits, discussed their varied writings. The friendship between the two was evident. The correspondence, furthermore, showed De Staël flirting with the older man and the latter reciprocating in kind.

Yet, through it all, hard business dealings took place. Much of the correspondence in the book pertains to such matters. Du Pont's transatlantic business venture, to which Necker lent money, was ultimately in serious financial straits. At times Du Pont worried that De Staël, who inherited her father's claims, might have him imprisoned for not being able to pay the company's debt to her. It is refreshing to see in the letters the refinement of the two distinguished intellectuals and their continued attachment for each other, despite the strains caused by their intricate and difficult business relationships.

The reader must thank Mr. Marshall for making available this correspondence; it illuminates the economic, political, and cultural history of the age of Atlantic revolutions.

Brooklyn College

JOSEPH I. SHULIM

HISTOIRE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT EN FRANCE 1800-1967. By *Antoine Prost*. [Collection U, Series "Histoire contemporaine."] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1968. Pp. 524.)

THIS splendid history of the French educational experience from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the eve of *les événements* of May-June 1968 is a perfect example of the remarkable creativity of contemporary French historical writing. French historians have not given up their passion for *les inédites*; nor have they abandoned

their reservations concerning immodest efforts at synthesis or the crime of speculation. Since 1945 France's historians have, however, deftly demonstrated how the historian may most tellingly integrate economic and social structures, ideology, and collective psychology into the traditional political and institutional framework of the historian. This vital history of French education illustrates perfectly the techniques now mastered in France that give us virtually a new genre for understanding history.

Antoine Prost has most successfully united the history of French society since 1800 and the changing individual and collective experiences of its teachers and students. He concretely records the numbers and hierarchy of students and professors, their geographic distribution, the daily life of the student, the expectations and the living conditions of the masters and professors, the developments in educational theory and practice, the confrontations between school and society. He has skillfully delineated the periods of critical significance in the history of primary, secondary, and higher education while stressing the psychological and social problems, the intellectual and spiritual conflicts particular to each generation. Prost is especially good in describing the miserable lot of the primary and secondary teachers for so much of the nineteenth century, their struggle to be recognized as members of adult society, and their eventual development of a professional status and independent political vision. The hostility of the bourgeois world to the teachers is profoundly related to the psychological and social reality of nineteenth-century France.

The liberating changes that began with the Third Republic are appreciatively examined, but at the same time Prost brilliantly analyzes the stagnation, the social control, the failure of imagination and justice that also characterized French society and education in the years 1880 to 1930. Prost's study appropriately concludes with a discussion of the conflict between generations that would explode one month after the book went to the printer.

This rich history of the totality of the French educational world is complemented by well-chosen documents and charts. There is, in addition, a most serviceable ten-page "index" of legislation, decrees, ordinances, circulars, statutes, and rules from one of October 10, 1794, which created *le Conservatoire national des arts et métiers*, to the circulars of February 7 and May 8, 1967, extending the possibilities for professional education.

It would be obscene to criticize a book as fine as this history. One can hope, however, that at some future date Prost will give us a more detailed history of higher education in modern France. We need to understand more fully the history of that education that was criticized by Claude Lévi-Strauss as a place of mental gymnastics but that has also produced historians with the talent of Prost.

University of Wisconsin

EDWARD T. GARGAN

NAPOLEON AFTER WATERLOO: ENGLAND AND THE ST. HELENA DECISION. By *Michael John Thornton*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 241. \$6.95.)

ACCORDING to the author, *Napoleon after Waterloo* is a narrative "in complete detail" of a neglected topic, Napoleon's detention in July and August 1815 aboard H.M.S. *Bellerophon*. As a personal story, the tale of the former Emperor's enforced vigil while the British government decided his fate is a pathetic one. Napoleon struggled hopelessly to preserve his freedom, his enormous pride, and the last trappings of his imperial dignity in one-sided "negotiations" with the Liverpool government. It was the

sad anticlimax of a dramatic and astonishing career. For their part, and for good political reasons, the British were determined to discuss nothing with "Buonaparte." Though defeated at Waterloo and forced to abdicate, Napoleon, at liberty, was still a major international problem. After his success in returning from Elba, it was clear that the threat of another Bonapartist restoration could undermine the security of a new European order. Once Napoleon had put himself into British hands, however, he became only a highly dangerous prisoner to be packed off as soon as possible to a safe and secure exile, remote from Europe.

All of this is reasonably well known from the published sources. Thornton's account, though gracefully written and covering the ground, has no apparent principles of organization other than "completeness" and a strict chronological order. Reluctant to be selective and analytical, he overburdens his story with details, particularly on the personal side. Virtually as much attention is given, for example, to an attempted suicide in the Emperor's entourage as to any examination of the options open to the British cabinet in disposing of their most dangerous prisoner. The serious student will find the book unsatisfactory as a comprehensive account because the political questions, which might have justified the writing of this work, are ignored or buried in trivia. Professionals will find the work useless because it lacks both footnotes and a bibliography. A brief preface describing the sources is, unfortunately, no substitute; for example, manuscript materials in the Public Record Office (presumably including War Office and Admiralty papers) are referred to simply as "official British government records"! It would be interesting to know why a university press chose to publish this account.

Richmond College

STEPHEN J. STEARNS

ÉTUDES SUR LA MARINE ET L'OFFICIER DE MARINE: BREST ET SA BOURGEOISIE SOUS LA MONARCHIE DE JUILLET. Volume I, INTRODUCTION À LA CHRONIQUE D'UN BOURGEOIS DE BREST POUR LES ANNÉES 1844 ET 1845; Volume II, CHRONIQUE D'UN BOURGEOIS DE BREST POUR LES ANNÉES 1844 ET 1845; NOTES ET CONCLUSION GÉNÉRALE. By Yves Le Gallo. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Rennes. Series I, Volumes XII and XII^{bis}.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1968. Pp. xxxvi, 441; 461. 60 fr. the set.)

THE extensively annotated edition of a minor *brestois* bureaucrat's chronicle for the years 1844 and 1845 serves as the four-hundred-page centerpiece of Le Gallo's *Brest et sa bourgeoisie*. J.-F. Brousmiche, son of an ennobled merchant, kept a chronicle for his own amusement as well as for the eventual edification of his family. Writing in spurts, he saw national and local politics through ardently Legitimist eyes, discussed his family's affairs from the viewpoint of a traditionalist paterfamilias, and commented on marriages, deaths, and careers in the Brest bourgeois community with the acid malice of a man barely holding his own in this grimly competitive society. Le Gallo, hoping to reconstruct a complete social milieu with the aid of his provincial and artless Balzac, has traced the careers of some 270 persons mentioned by the chronicler, even to the point of providing the location of their burial plots.

Brousmiche's *Chronicle* does not justify this impressive scholarly investment. Much of what the chronicler has to say is at best only intermittently interesting. Since Brousmiche himself usually discusses the background of his human specimens, Le Gallo's painstaking capsule biographies add little to the chronicle. It is reassuring to

have Balzac's observation of bourgeois values and aspirations so neatly corroborated, but a substantial article drawing on the Brousmiche manuscript could have done this more economically and effectively.

The other half of Le Gallo's *thèse de troisième cycle* (that is, Volume I) consists of a four-hundred-page introduction to the chronicle. Aside from tracing Brousmiche's background and final years, the author also sets out to reconstruct bourgeois society in Brest throughout the July Monarchy. In fact, Brousmiche's venomous comments may be appreciated without such formidable preparation, while the author's claim that the chronicle "naturally" leads to an analysis of bourgeois society in Brest is specious.

Le Gallo's historical sociology of Orleanist Brest must therefore be judged on its own merits. The author's grasp of the sources and patent familiarity with every aspect of the society allow him to make some interesting points. For instance, he demonstrates how Brest, revolving entirely around its naval base, was a colony run by Norman-French *colons* ruling Celtic-speaking Breton "natives," a colony every bit as dependent on the Navy Ministry as any Tahitian outpost. Le Gallo is equally at home among the complicated interlocking hierarchies of a military bourgeoisie of naval officers and a civilian bourgeoisie of naval suppliers, professionals, and civil officials. Less sophisticated is the author's discussion of local politics and changing attitudes toward religion.

As a work of history, Le Gallo's *Brest et sa bourgeoisie* is beset by two major problems. First, there is a vast disproportion between its modest contribution to social and administrative history and eight hundred pages of text and notes. The book is a horrible example of the French doctoral dissertation's galloping inflation which Professor Mousnier vainly deplored a few years ago. Le Gallo relentlessly piles detail upon detail, quotation upon quotation. He never resists a good digression: a five-page footnote pulverizing the urban population statistics in Pouthas' well-known *La population française . . .* deserved publication but surely not here. Second, all of Le Gallo's elaborate social analysis leads nowhere. The author demonstrates that his findings about *bresto* social structure tell nothing about social structure elsewhere because of Brest's unique position as a specialized naval base. Brest is a case history for which there are no other cases.

For these reasons it is difficult to recommend this work of immense erudition even to the social historian of nineteenth-century France. Yet it will be indispensable to historians of the French Navy, useful to students comparing naval administration in various countries, and suggestive to the social analyst of colonial settlements.

University of Michigan, Dearborn

PETER AMANN

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS, 1932-1939. First Series (1932-1935). Volume II (15 NOVEMBRE 1932-17 MARS 1933). [Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre 1939-1945.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1966. Pp. lv, 876.)

THIS volume of French diplomatic documents continues the story of the dissolution of the international order established at Versailles as seen by the Quai d'Orsay. Major international problems such as disarmament, war debts, and the Manchurian crisis are well covered. Much of the material, of course, is already familiar from other documentary publications.

The documents also reflect French reaction to the profound changes in the political leadership of two major countries, Germany and the United States. Ambassador

François-Poncet, commenting with considerable insight on the final agony of Weimar Germany, early perceived the likely failure of Chancellor Schleicher's grand design of a military rule supported by trade unions and dissident National Socialists. Later, his somber prognostications regarding the long-range consequences of Hitler's accession to power provide a chilling preview of things to come. He shared neither the comforting illusions of Polish officials "that time was working for Poland" nor those entertained by Soviet diplomats, namely, that "Germany was not Italy" and that the German proletariat would still throw its weight onto the political scales.

The change of administration in Washington was of particular interest to the French, whose relations with the United States reached a nadir in the final phase of Mr. Hoover's presidency. The Americans resented French withdrawals of gold and French failure to pay the debt installment due December 15, 1932, while the French complained about "American cynicism" and worried about boycotts of French products and travel to France organized by American citizens. Ambassador Claudel, however, was much encouraged by his talks with President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt, who stressed that France had not "defaulted" but merely deferred payment.

Much space is devoted, deservedly, to the state of France's relations with Italy as the interests of both countries were frequently in conflict, especially in Central and Southeastern Europe. The French were wary of Italian support for Hungarian revisionism and for movements aiming at the disruption of Yugoslavia, but they hoped eventually to enlist Italian assistance in opposing National Socialist *Anschluss* policies.

In addition to French Foreign Ministry archives, military documents as well as collections of personal papers were used in compiling this volume. The standards for selection and editing continue to be of the highest order. This publication follows the example set by some, though not all, documentary compilations of leaving unchanged the sometimes bizarre spellings of proper names found in the original documents.

Department of State

ARTHUR G. KOGAN

LA S.N.C.F. PENDANT LA GUERRE: SA RÉSISTANCE À L'OCCUPANT. By Paul Durand. Preface by Louis Armand. Foreword by André Ségalat. [Esprit de la Résistance: La guerre—L'occupation—La déportation—La libération.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1968. Pp. xii, 666. 40 fr.)

MOST of this large volume on the French National Railways (SNCF) deals with the period from the armistice of 1940 to the liberation of Paris in 1944, but Durand, a railway man himself, also discusses the SNCF's transportation and reconstruction activities at the beginning and the end of the Second World War. He shows how the SNCF tried to keep the French economy alive during the occupation years, but at the same time aid the Germans as little as possible. Its leaders cooperated with the occupation authorities much more reluctantly than their political superiors in Vichy. In examining the resistance activities of individuals, he has decided that "Very probably the dispatch of information to London was the most useful activity of the Resistance railwaymen." He has also concluded that sabotage sometimes caused more damage to the French economy and the French people than harm to the German war effort. This was even truer of Allied bombing and strafing in 1944, in which overkill was frequent.

These remarks are not meant to suggest that there is much interpretation in this book. To construct a synthesis of the actions of a complicated organization of some 400,000 people is not easy, and the book often becomes a catalogue of more technical details about train movements and sabotage than most of us want to know. Durand

chose to reveal almost no names of SNCF personnel, even the top leadership. He had reasons for this, but it makes the book less helpful to historians who will have to search elsewhere to discover what Louis Armand, for example, did in the resistance. There is no index, and one small map is not nearly enough in a book crammed with place names.

Durand wrote primarily from documents in the SNCF archives, but, because he gives few citations to these, later historians will have to do the research again. He also used 114 responses to questionnaires sent to those in the resistance and inserts frequent long quotations from these anonymous recollections, which sometimes are quite moving. Almost entirely descriptive, uncritical, and rarely analytical, the book probably will be most appreciated by nostalgic French railway men; historians will find it less useful.

University of Cincinnati

JAMES M. LAUX

THE RESISTANCE VERSUS VICHY: THE PURGE OF COLLABORATORS IN LIBERATED FRANCE. By *Peter Novick*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 245. \$7.50.)

PURGES, like all episodes of violence or vengeance in human history, have a macabre fascination for most readers. Professor Novick's purpose, however, is not to titillate that morbid strain in our nature but rather to examine seriously the motives, scope, and consequences of the French underground's settling of accounts with Vichyites and collaborators. This he has done with skill and care. His account is clear, concise, and lively; his grasp of the problems involved is sophisticated; his reflections on the meaning of the episode are judicious and persuasive.

Much has been written about the purge, but this is the first scholarly attempt to pull together the existing evidence and to arrive at unbiased qualitative and quantitative judgments. Novick's statistics, and some of his conclusions, must remain tentative in view of the fragmentary nature of the data that have been officially released. Still, they are certainly more dependable than any others now in print. Novick believes that the number of summary executions was closer to the official estimate (about 10,000) than to those of Robert Aron (30,000 to 40,000) or the vastly inflated figures advanced by former Vichyites. He concludes that 80,000 persons were arrested, which is fewer proportionately than in any other occupied country of Western Europe and fewer in absolute numbers than in the Netherlands. The number of prison sentences was also proportionately the lowest in Western Europe, and only 767 death sentences were carried out. By 1952, only 1,500 collaborators remained in prison; by 1964, none.

In a series of specialized chapters Novick examines the incidence of the purge on various segments of the bureaucracy, on the political elite, and on such social categories as the army, the church hierarchy, the trade unions, and the press. His only significant omissions seem to be the educational establishment and the business world (rather sizable omissions, those).

In Novick's view, the central motivating factor in the purge was not a thirst for revenge but a desire for *renouveau*. But he doubts that the purge was primarily responsible for such *renouveau* as occurred, as, for example, in the political elite or the press. He rejects the thesis that the purge enabled the Communists to take over the trade-union movement. He suggests that the rough justice of the first few weeks may have softened the severity of the purge's second phase. He believes that, on the whole, "the purge ended not with satisfaction at a job . . . well done; not with reconcili-

ation and the restoration of national unity—but with a universal sense of frustration and bitter disappointment.” Yet he also thinks that the men of that time dealt with the problem “as honestly, as conscientiously, and as well as any group of men could in the circumstances.” Although their task was “impossible and contradictory,” they could not have evaded it. A quarter of a century later the feuds and the bitterness engendered by the purge persist, but only on the margin of the nation’s political life; they concern nobody but men excluded from active politics, men with “nothing better to do with their time.” Ought we to regret or to rejoice that men are so quick to forget?

United States Embassy, Paris, France

GORDON WRIGHT

ESPAÑA BÉLICA: EL SIGLO XVI. In two volumes. By *Carlos Martínez de Campos y Serrano*. ([Madrid:] Aguilar. 1965. Pp. 305; 292.)

ESPAÑA BÉLICA: EL SIGLO XVII. By *Carlos Martínez de Campos y Serrano*. ([Madrid:] Aguilar. 1967. Pp. 293.)

ESPAÑA BÉLICA: EL SIGLO XVIII. By *Carlos Martínez de Campos y Serrano*. ([Madrid:] Aguilar. 1965. Pp. 318.)

CARLOS Martínez de Campos y Serrano is *duque* de la Torre, a lieutenant general, former chief of staff of the Spanish Army, former professor of strategic studies, and, twice immortal, being a member of both the Royal Spanish Academy and the Royal Academy of History—personal data very pertinent to this review. He, along with others, is also the author of the volume on Spanish military history in Aguilar’s nineteenth-century “Panorama de un Siglo de Vida Española” series. These volumes (cited here as Volumes I–IV) push backward in time—most ill-advisedly. The eighteenth-century volume, which was written first, is quite self-contained, and, if reviewed by itself, it would, with considerable qualification, deserve passing marks. It is unfortunate that the author did not stop there; he added two further volumes, one on the sixteenth century and a more recent one on the seventeenth century. Taken together, the combined work would hardly be worth reviewing were it not a supremely useful example of facile, privileged amateurism, the dead hand of which still lies heavily on historical writing in Spain.

It is usually unfair to cite an author’s bibliography against him, but here, in “Works Consulted” and not just those cited, it accurately reflects not only his gross unfamiliarity with the relevant literature but his total innocence of what a body of relevant literature is apt to be and, indeed, his whole approach to what he presumes to be history and historical research and writing. It leans heavily toward textbooks, vulgarizations, and such, with the rest an uncritical hodgepodge of what is authoritative and what is worthless; much is cited obscurely, much incorrectly, much even secondhand. His best authority for Elizabethan England is Churchill, for the Netherlands revolt Vandervynckt (2d ed., 1822), for the Austrian Habsburgs William Coxe (an 1810 French translation); his most frequently cited authority for Spain itself is Modesto Lafuente’s *Historia General de España* (1850–67), thus ignoring a whole century of scholarship. Volume IV is better largely because Lafuente happens to be on the eighteenth century. Given his claim of setting his subject in its broad domestic and international contexts, the omissions are astounding: if listed, they would constitute a basic bibliography. The military bibliography is sounder and fuller, but even it is frequently spotty, unbalanced (for example, having more information on the conquest of the Canary Islands than of Italy), and one-sided (depending on Spanish battle accounts until the late seventeenth century). The major gaps are startling; there

is not a single modern history of the 'Thirty Years' War. More examples could be cited.

The author has the most ludicrous notion of evidence and no notion at all of the best evidence: he takes difficult population figures from the preface to a French translation of W. T. Walsh's *Isabella*, and his description of Isabella's financial condition is based on a translator's note in a work on the discovery and conquest of America; his assessment of the Flemish advisers of Charles I is taken from one military historian, and that of Lerma from another; his description of Spain's mid-seventeenth-century mood comes from Guizot's *République d'Angleterre et la vie d'Oliver Cromwell*. Perhaps most telling is that, when he actually does draw briefly upon J. H. Elliott for the Catalan Revolt, one notices it.

It is not surprising, therefore, that he has trouble getting even the simplest facts straight: in one brief span he manages to give both Tuscany and Liège to Philip II, move Limburg to the coast, and elevate Milan to viceregal status (hardly a quibble, as its governorship was a top military command), and in another makes Lerma Duke of Denia and Bethlen Gabor King of Hungary, shuffles "various electoral dignities" right after the Battle of the White Mountain, and has Louis XIII being "counseled by his minister Richelieu" in 1623. Because so much of his narrative is taken directly (though not always skillfully) from José Almirante's old standard *Bosquejo de la Historia Militar de España hasta fin del siglo XVIII* (4 vols., 1923), the occasion for such sins on the purely military side is reduced, but there are still many, ranging from crippling to appalling. His having "consulted" Oman and others without grasping such things as the tactical lesson of Ravenna is typical of this "military history."

If he is occasionally good on some things, it is not as a historian but as a knowledgeable soldier whose scanty fund of historical fact fortuitously happens to suffice, or where his suppositions of generic uniformity happen to hold up; when neither is the case, he merely flounders. But sources, facts, and knowledge are not, alas, necessary in this lamentable context. If a dabbler's connections are good enough, honors are heaped upon him, even unto official immortality; he is proclaimed "*máxima autoridad* on the subject" and allowed to pre-empt center stage, leaving real historians to scabble on the edges of a compromised profession. This perverse lingering of anachronistic privilege is a terrible impediment to the continuing progress of serious scholarship; its demise is much desired by those who love Spain and its history. It is fortunate that this demise can only be hastened by performances such as this, which ultimately reach the point of self-parody when the author closes his opus with an allusion to Milton, and his final footnote, with utter consistency, cites the wrong work incorrectly.

Tulane University

CHARLES H. CARTER

RELECTIO DE INDIS: O LIBERTAD DE LOS INDIOS. By *Francisco de Vitoria*.

Critical bilingual edition by *L. Pereña* and *J. M. Pérez Prendes*. Introductory studies by *V. Beltrán de Heredia et al.* [Corpus Hispanorum de Pace, Volume V.] (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. 1967. Pp. cxcii, 239. 450 ptas.)

No historical cliché dies harder than the misplaced sobriquet. More than half a century after Ernest Nuyss definitively dethroned Grotius as the "Father of International Law" (*Le droit des gens et les anciens jurisconsultes espagnols* [1914]) the effort to push modern origins back a century (especially James Brown Scott's *The Spanish Origin of International Law*, Volume I, *Francisco de Vitoria and His Law of Nations*

[1934]), though "accepted," has had remarkably little effect upon textbooks and general histories. Thus one should welcome publication of this important 1539 *relectio* (a year-end lecture required of *catedráticos* at Salamanca University), with parallel text in Spanish, some pertinent appendixes, and introductory essays by five leading Vitoria scholars, most of whose work is not easily available.

It is regrettable that the essays are not equally useful. P. Teófilo Urdánóz' comprehensive "Síntesis teológico-jurídica de la doctrina de Vitoria" contrasts sharply with Vicente Beltrán Heredia's "Personalidad . . . de Vitoria y transcendencia de su obra doctrinal" and Reginaldo di Agostino Iannarone's "Génesis del pensamiento colonial . . . en Vitoria," though Antonio Truyol's suggestive "Vitoria en la perspectiva de nuestro tiempo" is quite manageable; coeditor Luciano Pereña's thirty-four pages on the bases, apparatus, and so forth of this edition are amply informative. The authors, who cover different topics, also differ on their subject, but this is not always clear. They emphasize different sources of Vitoria's political thought, with Urdánóz casting by far the widest net. He is the only author who compares authorities and their conflicting views. The others are merely selective and unfortunately offer little ground for preferring one selection over another. Agostino, for example, leans heavily on the Vitoria biographer and editor Getino whom both Pereña and Urdánóz partially reject and Beltrán ignores. The uninitiated will wish for some editorial help in navigating these differences, which are nowhere acknowledged.

The *relectio* itself, exhaustively edited from several manuscript and printed versions, presents a serious problem. Editorial care, sometimes only a quibble, is crucial in an "edition," but it inspires little confidence here. Aside from some minor matters, direct criticism, which requires exhaustive recollection, is of course impracticable, but serious doubts are raised by the editorial inconsistency and carelessness that mar the rest of the book. Father L. G. A. Getino's name and principal work are footnoted in widely varying forms and listed in the bibliography under "Alonso"; Scott, as might be expected, is under "Brown." In a single note Beltrán dates one of his own articles 1543 and another 1953, and 1963 appears in the bibliography. These examples must suffice. One hopes that this ambitious series, which includes two more of Vitoria's fifteen known *relectii*—*De potestate civili* and *De iure belli*—tightens up its standards. Meanwhile, one should perhaps be grateful for what one has.

One further complaint is merely common sense: surely 179 pages of front matter call for Arabic numerals, especially when essays begin unpaginated and page xliii must be found by turning to pages xli or xliv.

Tulane University

CHARLES H. CARTER

COLLOQVIVM ERASMIANVM: ACTES DU COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL RÉUNI À MONS DU 26 AU 29 OCTOBRE 1967 À L'OCCASION DU CINQUIÈME CENTENAIRE DE LA NAISSANCE D'ÉRASME. (Mons: Centre Universitaire de l'État. 1968. Pp. xix, 340. 375 fr. B.)

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY Brabant, the distant "patria" of Erasmus' Basel years, was home to his fiercest Catholic enemies and his warmest Catholic sympathizers. The Mons Colloquium shows Belgian and French scholarship moving within the framework of this ancient debate. Pointing to the Catholic *aggiornamento*, Marcel Bataillon announces that at last "le jour de gloire d'Érasme est levé." Jean-Claude Margolin cites a recent statement by Pope Paul VI to clarify Erasmus' notion of truth unfolding through time. Jean-Pierre Massaut finds Erasmus less confused in his ecclesiology than the Sorbonne

theologians who censured him. Erasmus, his orthodoxy vindicated, becomes a prophet for *aggiornamento*. But generous appreciation is not always compatible with the niggardly requirements of evidence. Margolin denies that Erasmus preferred peace to the truth, but ignores the admission to Botzheim that he would "sooner desert a portion of the truth than disturb peace." Massaut is too quick to dismiss a statement about the church of the elect as completely atypical of Erasmus. It does no honor to the scholar of Rotterdam to present an unambiguous Erasmus.

Ernst Wilhelm Kohls is likewise overly concerned to establish the orthodoxy of Erasmus. His argument for the primacy of grace in *De Libero Arbitrio* is a sound corrective to the still-common view that because Erasmus' main concern was ethical he was therefore not religious. But his effort to discover the same theology of grace in Erasmus' early works rests on the easy assumption that a given text, whatever the context, can be made to yield a dogmatic statement. For example, when Erasmus speaks in *De Contemptu Mundi* of "the liberty of those to whom the yoke is sweet," Kohls takes him to mean that the yoke is sweet because the will has been quickened by grace. But the contemporary *Oratio de Pace*, together with Erasmus' exposition of Matt. 11:30 in later works, would suggest rather that the yoke, meaning the law of charity, is sweet because men by nature yearn for peace and concord.

The remaining papers vary in quality. André Godin has made the exciting discovery of twenty manuscript sermons of Jean Vitrier, the man who stands behind the *Enchiridion*. Roland Crahay and Marie-Thérèse Isaac demonstrate the effectiveness of censorship on Erasmus' works in ecclesiastical libraries of Hainaut after 1570. André Stegman's recital of Erasmus' rude indifference to French humanists—a note of spleen amid the chorus of praise—is generally well argued. Jean Hoyoux, with his flair for the details of living, gives Erasmus good marks for horsemanship. By contrast, the studies of Erasmus' relations with Pellican (H. Meylan) and Dürer (H. Plard) are little more than paraphrases of the documents.

University of Minnesota

JAMES D. TRACY

ROKOKOGREVEN PIERRE D'ESNEVAL OG CHRISTIAN VI's ETIOPIISKE PROJEKT. By Fritz Hammer Kjølsten. [Skrifter udgivet af Jysk Selskab for Historie, Number 20.] (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget. 1968. Pp. 170. 33.75 D. kr.)

PIERRE le Roux d'Esneval, a French count who reveals himself as a true "Rococo" personage, was in Portugal when a missionary from Ethiopia told him of a possible route to that country. For years the French count tried to establish a connection between Ethiopia and Europe. From 1736 to 1742 King Christian VI of Denmark involved himself and his country in a project that would have sent Danish ships and men to the shores of the Red Sea, driven Arabs and Turks from the port of Massua, and opened the rich Ethiopian trade for Danish exploitation. But this dream never became reality.

D'Esneval got Danish money and diplomatic support; he went further and received the aid of the papacy and its college of propaganda. He managed to set off up the Nile with a small expedition and got as far as Derri, near the second cataract, before he had to turn back, unable to reach Ethiopia by the land route. In his company was Frederic Louis Norden, who, upon his return, wrote *Voyage d'Égypte et de Nubie, etc.*, printed in French at Copenhagen (1750, 1755). It became a main contribution to geography and one of the most valuable travel volumes of the century.

After work on Norden, Kjølsten ransacked European archives for material on the

author of the idea. When Danish support waned, D'Esneval sought that of Spain. He strove at times to secure aid from Portugal and constantly sought the help of the Holy See. A ship he finally managed to fit out was taken by the British. By the time he died D'Esneval had exhausted his energies and his resources, including his wife's entire fortune, and his dream remained unfulfilled.

Kjølsten found little in Portuguese archives, where the earthquake of 1755 destroyed much documentation, much in the Vatican Archives, and something in those of Spain. The principal material is in Danish repositories, though an interesting memoir had been in English safekeeping. The book is well written and moves rapidly, and the Jutish History Society has done an outstanding job in publishing it. It is richer in maps than most such works; the indexing and footnoting are well handled; the proofreading is excellent. The one fault that caught my eye appeared on page 122: the phrase "tant dans la robe que dans l'épée" refers to the gown of the judge or lawyer, not to the cassock of the priest.

This book illustrates a facet of eighteenth-century international interest and behavior. The men involved are secondary in importance, yet they are definitely worth the effort expended on them. For a moment the small northern kingdom of Denmark looked toward a future in Eastern trade that would have given it a place with England, France, and Holland. Had D'Esneval succeeded, the intent might have become fact. All that remains are the scattered bits of evidence that Kjølsten has so painstakingly sought out and put together, a fitting memorial to the dream of the "Rococo-Count."

University of Southern California

FRANCIS J. BOWMAN

EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN SWEDEN: PLANNING AND ACCEPTING THE COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL REFORMS. By *Rolland G. Paulston*. [Teachers College Studies in Education.] (New York: Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University. 1968. Pp. x, 193. \$7.50.)

THE long, arduous path to Swedish educational reform was filled with frustrations, and many early leaders found their efforts thwarted by indifference, stubborn opposition, and fumbling assistance from Swedish political groups. Perhaps no story is more complicated, or more revealing of the hazards of the "politics of compromise." Reform of the school system had its nineteenth-century exponents, and, at the turn of the century, the Social Democrats joined the fray. But the many reasons for reform did not press the Riksdag to move, for there were other priorities and much opposition. It is not surprising, however, to see the reform assume top priority in postwar planning in the early 1940's when Ernst Wigforss, Rickard Sandler, and Tage Erlander, the present Prime Minister, themselves all teachers during their careers, forced the party to take the initiative. Perhaps Dr. Paulston has overlooked the contributions of Wigforss, the philosophical mentor of the party, to some extent.

In 1950 Sweden gained its new democratic educational system with its unitary base and its options permitting students to shift from one to the other should their objectives change. Despite the many protests of educators and the public, not least in the cities and counties that paid for the reform, these alterations have been accomplished, but have left their scars upon both the educational and political scene.

The present work, a necessary one in comparative education, merits serious study. On the other hand, it stops where the plot proves most interesting: the reform's implementation and fumbling execution, its serious discrepancies between reality and theory, its modifications necessitated by lack of human or financial resources, and its

difficult task of implanting a philosophical base. But it is working, and the past twenty years have seen a slow evolution from an elitist to a democratic structure of education. Paulston's review of the history of Swedish educational reform and its ample bibliography permits both the nonspecialist and the professional, neither probably equipped with the Swedish language, to gain insight.

California State College, Long Beach

RAYMOND E. LINDGREN

GESCHICHTE DES NIEDEREN JÜDISCHEN VOLKES IN DEUTSCHLAND:
EINE STUDIE ÜBER HISTORISCHES GAUNERTUM, BETTELWESEN
UND VAGANTENTUM. By *Rudolf Glanz*. (New York: [the Author.] 1968.
Pp. 365.)

THIS work gives us a piece of social history well off the beaten track. It tells the story, from the Middle Ages to the beginning of the nineteenth century, of a substratum of Jewish life in Central Europe, a story that included vagrants, beggars, thieves, and prostitutes. The author seeks to supplement traditional studies of historical Jewish communities, studies that have dealt primarily with Jews who played a recognized economic role and paid taxes. His treatment of the history of the Jewish criminal element is largely based on municipal and court records and on specific local and regional histories. The author has consulted a variety of research libraries and institutes both in Europe and in the United States. Exhaustive notes amounting to more than 25 per cent of the text provide evidence of the thorough scholarship that has gone into the preparation of the book.

According to Glanz, lower-class Jews were forced into vagrancy and criminality because so few legitimate careers were open to the numerous offspring of Jewish families. With the rise of a money economy and the first beginnings of the Industrial Revolution, manipulative talents, which had been developed during centuries of exclusion from manual and crafts occupations, were given fuller and more complex scope, and highly organized criminal gangs came into existence. A stable family life and adherence to traditional Jewish culture distinguished Jewish gangs from their Christian counterparts. Glanz also demonstrates that Jewish criminal jargon with its Yiddish roots penetrated into the criminal jargon of the larger world of crime and constituted a significant part of the vocabulary of German criminals.

Work on this study began in Europe before the start of the Second World War. The German of the text bears the imprint of the reality of the American Diaspora, but the deviations from standard literary German do not obscure the content.

The author often has remained quite close to his sources, which leads to some lack of integration. The book's thesis—that the stability of their family life and the continued adherence of vagrants and criminals to Jewish culture proves that survival is possible even under the most marginal living conditions—is not backed by the documentation. But despite these reservations, the work furnishes a useful addition to the social history of the Jewish people and of the criminal element of European society before the full onset of the Industrial Revolution. The description of the class character of the Jewish community organizations and of the military connections of Jewish gangs also sheds some light on certain questions raised about Jewish resistance and collaboration during the Second World War.

Pitzer College

WERNER WARMBRUNN

BARTHOLD GEORG NIEBUHR ALS POLITIKER UND HISTORIKER: ZEITGESCHEHEN UND ZEITGEIST IN DEN GESCHICHTLICHEN BEURTEILUNGEN VON B. G. NIEBUHR. By *Seppo Rytkönen*. [Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia Toimituksia, Series B, Number 156.] (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia. 1968. Pp. 378. 45M.)

LEOPOLD VON RANKE ALS AKADEMISCHER LEHRER: STUDIEN ZU SEINEN VORLESUNGEN UND SEINEM GESCHICHTSDENKEN. By *Gunter Berg*. [Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Number 9.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1968. Pp. 249. DM 25.)

IN the days when he was still a student in Kiel, Barthold Georg Niebuhr wrote to his parents: "I believe that nature has determined the individual bent of my spirit and my capacities so that I may become an elegant writer, a historian of the modern and the ancient periods, a statesman, and, perhaps, a man of the world." He was decidedly wrong on the first count, and it would be hard to claim that he ever distinguished himself as a *Weltmann*, but there is no doubt that he made his mark as historian and man of state. In both the Danish and the Prussian governments he performed useful services in the Ministry of Finance; he helped Stein draft the Edict of 1808, liberating the serfs; he was first a collaborator and later a critic of Hardenberg; and he served for eight years as Prussian envoy to the Vatican. In the field of scholarship he was responsible for bringing Roman history out of the world of myth into that of science by applying the critical method of classical philology to its sources, and he founded the Prussian school of history. He was the forerunner of Droysen and Treitschke.

Wilhelm von Humboldt once said of Niebuhr that he "played the statesman among scholars and the scholar among statesmen," and one can see why this propensity, which was also true of Johannes von Müller, Niebuhr's contemporary and predecessor as historian for the House of Brandenburg, irritated professional politicians like Hardenberg. Yet one who lives in two worlds finds it difficult to keep them sundered, one from the other, and, as Seppo Rytkönen's able monograph shows, the fascinating thing about Niebuhr's career was the reciprocal relationship between his historical views and his opinions about contemporary politics. In this original study, which shows in detail how, among other things, the successive drafts of Niebuhr's *Roman History* were influenced by his changing views of the French Revolution and Napoleon, historians are provided with an excellent illustration of the uses and limitations of the analogical method.

Gunter Berg's monograph, an equally original but somewhat less repetitive account of Leopold von Ranke's academic career, stresses those aspects most often neglected in essays about historians: namely, collegial relations and activities and work in seminar and lecture hall. It is all too clearly shown that the great historian was not the most congenial or cooperative of colleagues and that his lectures were hardly calculated to attract the nonspecialist. (Andrew D. White once described him as "mumbling through a kind of rhapsody, which most of my German fellow students confessed they could not understand. It was a comical sight: half a dozen students crowding around his desk listening to the professor as priests might listen to the Sybil on her tripod, the other students being scattered through the room in various stages of discouragement." The decision to invite Treitschke to fill Ranke's chair after his retirement was made specifically to take care of auditors who had fled from Ranke's austere and often unintelligible approach to his subject.) But the discriminating few always recognized their teacher for what he was; neither Burckhardt nor Dilthey was bored.

and Berg's interesting account of Ranke's seminar technique and his extensive analysis, based on the notes of auditors like Heinrich von Sybel and the future diplomat Kurd von Schlözer, of Ranke's lectures make clear why Ranke's influence in German historiography was so pervasive and dominant in the nineteenth century.

The second half of the Berg monograph is a discussion of the problem of objectivity in Ranke's lectures and of the historian's own views on the subject. It includes an interesting account of the profound effect that the Revolutions of 1848 had upon Ranke's lectures and scholarly work.

Stanford University

GORDON A. CRAIG

THE SOCIOLOGY OF MARX. By *Henri Lefebvre*. Translated from the French by *Norbert Guterman*. (New York: Pantheon Books. 1968. Pp. 214. \$5.95. New York: Vintage Books. 1969. Pp. 214. \$1.95.)

SINCE the discovery and publication of Marx's early manuscripts, a new genre of Marxist writing and interpretation has come into existence. This subordinates the conception of Marx as a scientific thinker about society, who derived the equations doom-ing the capitalist system and published them in works for which he and Engels took full intellectual responsibility, to the conception of Marx as a revolutionary moralist, who was concerned with the abolition of human alienation in all of its many forms. This study by Lefebvre belongs to the newer interpretation. It seeks to distinguish itself, on the one hand, from the typical "positivistic" approach taken by disciples and critics of Marx up to World War I, which sought to test empirically the validity of his analyses and predictions, and, on the other hand, from the "dogmatism" of the Communist apotheosis of Marx, which opposes all revisionisms.

There are many generic difficulties in this attempt to reconstitute Marx as a moralist invulnerable to the processes of empirical and historical confirmation. Among them is the fact that this makes Marx's central insights, so to speak, pre-Marxist, notions shared in common with others. There is, further, the odd phenomenon that Marx published blistering criticisms of those who held these very insights. For example, he repudiated the entire conception that man had a "true" or "generic" or "essential" nature without which the whole notion of "alienation" is unintelligible. If, as the mature Marx believed, man creates his own nature, if human nature is a historical variable, how can man "alienate" it? Lefebvre's conception of Marx suffers, as does the dogmatic Communist view, in that no one can specify what kind of evidence would confirm or refute it in the manner in which other scientific hypotheses are tested.

Not only does Lefebvre's account suffer from a failure to meet these generic difficulties; it has many specific weaknesses of its own. First, it presupposes a close familiarity with Marx's work. The ordinary reader will find it esoteric, rather than clear. Second, it is mystifying in its own terms. We are told that Marx did not formulate "a philosophy of history." But, on the very same page, we are told that according to Marx man has "a destiny." This connotes not only a philosophy of history but a very bad, because scientifically unintelligible, philosophy of history. Third, it is full of *non sequiturs*. Marx, Lefebvre says, "is not a sociologist but there is a sociology in Marx." By the same token neither is Marx an economist, or historian, or philosopher. What difference does this make? The important question is whether the sociology, economics, or history in Marx is valid or invalid. Such an approach, Lefebvre implies, is mistaken because it ignores the fact that society is "a differentiated totality." He implies that to judge the truth of statements in a specific discipline is untenable

because such judgment "breaks up" the totality. This is absurd. The human organism is more clearly "a differentiated totality" than society, but we certainly can distinguish the science of anatomy from the science of neurology, even though they are inter-related, and accept or reject specific propositions in these fields. From the tautology that Marx is not *merely* a sociologist, an economist, or a historian, among other things, Lefebvre infers the absurdity that Marx is not a sociologist, an economist, or a historian. Marx goes beyond Hegel precisely in offering a key to explain the structure and development of the differentiated totality of society, namely, the mode of economic production. Lefebvre does not even get to the point of considering the problems and difficulties that Marx's explanation must face, particularly the well-known evidence supplied by the October Revolution, which constitutes a *prima-facie* refutation of Marx's key hypothesis. Lefebvre tries to spare the corpus of Marx's doctrines from rigorous scientific explanation by restating them into vague expressions of moral aspiration and revolutionary prophecy.

Most disappointing of all, Lefebvre fails in the task he specifically sets out to accomplish: "to elucidate some basic Marxian concepts." The discussion of the Marxist concept of praxis explains the obscure by the more obscure; it fails to distinguish between experiment, action, work, the practical, habit or scientific method, and a number of other related concepts. Every term is so vague that it melts into another.

The analysis of "ideology" in Marx is extremely misleading and overlooks what is truly significant in Marx's account. "As Marx saw it," says Lefebvre in summing up, "ideology involves the old problem of error and its relation to the truth." This misses entirely the point of Marx's theory. Ideology, for Marx, is false consciousness of the nature of things, man, and society, and it is contrasted with science. The method of science is self-correcting; many of its theories, therefore, are discovered to be inadequate or false and are continually being replaced. This fact does not make a false scientific theory an ideology. Indeed, the progress of science depends upon the elimination of false theories. The "old" problem of the relation between truth and error, whether it is the question of truth of hypothesis or truth of perception, has nothing to do with the Marxist view of ideology.

An ideology is a false theory that originates not from incomplete evidence, false inference, a mistaken perception, or from a failure in controlled observation, but from a blinding, unconscious self-interest that distorts the evaluation of evidence. It is more like a Freudian rationalization, which, by suggesting plausible or good reasons for an action prevents us from seeking or even seeing the real reasons. Marx's view, which must be carefully qualified and limited to escape fatal difficulties, is that *sometimes* class or personal interests will interfere with the quest for truth. But this presupposes that we can tell what the objective truth is, independent of ideology. Strictly speaking, then, there are truths about classes, but there are no class truths.

Although this book purports to be about sociology, it seemed to me as if the author were deciphering a text in theology.

New York University

SIDNEY HOOK

ARNIM AND BISMARCK. By *George O. Kent*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 213. \$5.95.)

THIS book traces the diplomatic career of Harry von Arnim from his first efforts at independent policy making while Prussian representative to the papacy in 1869 until

his conviction for treason in 1876. Throughout this period Arnim remained on the periphery of great events. Neither during the Vatican Council in Rome, nor at the peace negotiations between Prussia and France, nor as the German ambassador in Paris was he able to escape the minor role for which he had been cast. His fame, for both his contemporaries and historians, came from his brief but bitter conflict with Bismarck. He paid for this fame with disgrace and exile.

"Stripped of its partisan overtones," writes Mr. Kent, "the conflict between Arnim and Bismarck raises two questions: the cause of the conflict, and Arnim's competence as a diplomat." In answering the latter question, the author has rightly avoided the immoderate condemnations of Arnim made popular by those overenthusiastic admirers of Bismarck whose influence still clouds the historiography of the imperial era. The material presented here suggests, nevertheless, that as a diplomat Arnim left almost everything to be desired. His dispatches were often unwise and unclear, while his behavior frequently served his own appetite for intrigue rather than the interests of the nation he represented. In one sense, Arnim's record as a diplomat makes clear why he should have clashed with Bismarck. But, on the other hand, Arnim's ineptness raises the question of how he was able to attain the high posts that he enjoyed and how he could have appeared threatening enough to call down the full weight of the Chancellor's rage. Unfortunately, Kent's book does not clarify this aspect of the conflict. This results in part from the lack of evidence concerning Arnim's supposed influence at court, which is the usual explanation offered for his role as a potential rival for Bismarck. In part, however, the origins and the significance of the Arnim affair remain obscure because Kent spends so little time analyzing the domestic political context within which the affair took place. In contrast to the lucidity and care with which he chronicles Arnim's diplomatic endeavors, the author gives only sketchy and sometimes misleading accounts of internal politics in the early 1870's. The result is that, in *Arnim and Bismarck*, the clash between the two men emerges as a somewhat sordid incident of individual frailty and personal vindictiveness rather than a source of insight into the still-inchoate power relationships at the highest levels of government during the first years of the new German Empire.

Northwestern University

JAMES J. SHEEHAN

DER BOLSCHEWISMUS IM URTEIL DER DEUTSCHEN SOZIALDEMOKRATIE, 1903-1920. By *Peter Lösche*. With a foreword by *Georg Kotowski*. [Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin beim Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, Number 29. Publikationen zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung, Number 1.] (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag. 1967. Pp. ix, 306. DM 48.)

PETER Lösche's study of German Social Democratic responses to the ideas and actions of the Russian Bolsheviks between 1903 and 1920 suggests once again that fear, particularly in periods of upheaval, may play a decisive role in historical change. At the heart of the book is the thesis that the conservative course chosen by the majority Social Democrats in 1918-1919 is to be explained in large part by their unfounded fear that a revolution patterned on the Bolshevik model might take place in Germany. On the basis of his thorough research in archival as well as published materials, the author shows that, prior to 1917, most German Social Democrats had only a fragmentary knowledge of the Russian socialist movement and its factions. As late as the summer and fall of 1917 both the majority and the independent Social Democrats

hailed the Bolsheviks as the party of peace and democracy in Russia. Lösche concludes that it was not primarily the *coup d'état* of November 1917, but the dissolution of the constituent assembly in January 1918, that finally turned the Social Democrats totally against the Bolsheviks. After January 1918 the Social Democrats could see that the parliamentary democracy to which they were committed no longer had a chance to develop in Russia. Their fear of Bolshevism grew and soon merged with an "anti-Bolshevik ideology" that had developed out of the arguments they presented to explain their hatred of the Leninist Revolution. Although the Social Democrats wrote polemics against Bolshevism in the name of democracy and of socialism, Lösche argues that their fear of the former kept them from carrying out the social, economic, and political reforms necessary for the stabilization of democracy in Germany. And their defenses against the conservative elements of German society were further weakened as their anti-Bolshevism rapidly emerged as a "new integration ideology," serving functions of social and political mediation similar to those once performed by Karl Kautsky's interpretation of Marxism.

No summary of the general themes can adequately convey the variations and shifts of opinion that Lösche has skillfully worked into his "ideological-historical" study. Although most of the information is not new, the book as a whole adds a new perspective to our knowledge of the roles of the German Socialist parties during the First World War, the Revolution, and the founding of the Weimar Republic. One of Lösche's strengths, making this monograph more than a recital of attitudes, is an ability to integrate ideas and actions into a balanced narrative. But he is less successful in handling the subject of fear, a central concept in his interpretation. He defines the fear of the Social Democrats only in terms of their ideological statements and does not explore it as an emotional feature of their personalities that could be illustrated concretely and analyzed psychologically. The author's methodological assumptions allowed him to overlook this psychological dimension; had it been otherwise the thesis of the book itself would have been strengthened considerably.

Johns Hopkins University

VERNON L. LIDTKE

WEIMAR CULTURE: THE OUTSIDER AS INSIDER. By *Peter Gay*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1968. Pp. xv, 205. \$5.95.)

IN a polished essay of 145 pages Peter Gay attempts to define the "spirit of Weimar." His primary sources are interviews, as well as printed letters, recollections, and autobiographies. There are an annotated bibliography and an appended narrative sketch of Weimar politics.

The emphasis is on those aspects of Weimar culture that can still be deeply admired. The disaster of 1933 has tended to make us forget the "other Germany," the Germany of Goethe and, more especially, of Heine. Yet in some sense, Gay argues, the stepchildren of official Germany, the "outsiders" of the Wilhelmian era, became the "insiders" of "Weimar at its best." The "un-German" Germans, liberals and Jews, the *Aufklärer*, and those capable of irony made Berlin a vital as well as a troubled city during the twenties. In Hamburg, the creative spirit of Weimar was exemplified by the Warburg Institute; in Frankfurt, by the Institute for Social Research; in Berlin, by the new Psychoanalytic Institute, and by the *Deutsche Hochschule für Politik*. Gay gives us a sympathetic sketch of each before moving on to discuss the Expressionist theater, Rilke, the revivals of Hölderlin and Kleist, the dialogue between Thomas and Heinrich Mann, and the *Bauhaus*.

Official Germany is also represented, and there are glimpses of a young, unstable, and dangerous Germany as well. Hugenberg's communications empire arises beside that of the Ullsteins. The one-sided traditions of Rankean historiography contrast with the work of the brilliant outsider Eckart Kehr. Friedrich Meinecke and the *Vernunftrepublikaner* hover between the two camps. Stefan George cultivates an aesthetic sense of leadership and elite vocation; Martin Heidegger's dark philosophy assaults the barriers of language and of reason; Oswald Spengler's "Prussian socialism" foreshadows more practical distortions of political rhetoric. The young are impatient, helpless with their instincts, misled.

Gay does not stress formal intellectual history; he spends little time on important theoretical developments in philosophy and in the other disciplines. His approach is that of the evocative cultural historian, and he weaves the great wealth and diversity of his subject matter into a rich fabric of connected sketches.

Though constrained by limitations of space, Gay also manages to raise some of the more fundamental problems of analysis that have concerned historians of modern Germany. Following Hajo Holborn, Leonard Krieger, and Fritz Stern, among others, he touches upon the problem of the "unpolitical" German and upon the peculiar German response to modernity. Most "insiders" among German intellectuals, and a few "outsiders" as well, shared intellectual habits that could become vices amid the immense social and cultural tensions of the Weimar period. Gay briefly considers the German idealist tradition and the Weimar yearning for integral insights and total commitments. He calls this the "hunger for wholeness." The recurrent theme of conflict between father and son in literature, drama, and the cinema is another fascinating problem; Gay follows Siegfried Kracauer in suggesting a psychoanalytic approach in this area.

What one misses in Gay's essay is a rigorous and explicit scheme of analysis, a set of ordering principles, an interpretive guide to the *relationships* among the various elements of Weimar culture. The agonies of the German response to modernity were both creative and destructive; that much is generally agreed. But should we not try to penetrate further into the ambiguities of German cultural criticism, to distinguish among concurrent and intermingled theories of spiritual alienation, to sort, to relate, and to explain? What separated the outsiders from the insiders? If there were dangerous predilections in the German idealist mode, what were they, and where did they come from? Asking why poets and the written word were so revered among Germans, Gay refers to "an old illusion left over from neoclassical theory," but is that not to accept the fallacy he meant to explain? Were there no links between Weimar culture and Weimar society?

Such questions are easier to ask than to answer. Further work is being done, and some help may be expected from recent books by Barbara Miller Lane (*Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918-1945*) and Istvan Deak (*Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*). Meanwhile, Gay himself has promised to give us a complete history of the Weimar renaissance eventually. His spirited introductory evocation of Weimar culture has certainly whetted our appetites.

Indiana University

FRITZ K. RINGER

THE NAZI PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCHES, 1933-45. By J. S. Conway.
(New York: Basic Books. 1968. Pp. xxxi, 474. \$10.00.)

LITERALLY thousands of books and articles have been written on the life of the Christian churches under the Third Reich. Mr. Conway, of the University of British

Columbia, has sought to change the emphasis by showing the methods used by the Nazis to dominate and control the churches of Germany. Actually his title is slightly misleading, for he does not confine himself to Nazi persecution of the churches. He spends considerable time discussing topics already covered in such works as Guenther Lewy's *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* (1964) and Friedrich Zipfel's *Kirchenkampf in Deutschland 1933-1945* (1965). Conway does not seriously revise the work of his predecessors. He brings it up to date by diligent archival research, which further substantiates the conclusion that the record of both Catholic and Protestant church leaders under Hitler is a shocking chapter in the history of the Christian church. It is indeed "a sad tale of betrayal, timidity, and unbelief."

Both churches hailed Hitler as "the redeemer of German history"; they congratulated him when he ordered the murder of hundreds of citizens during the Blood Purge; they made no public remonstrances against the Nuremberg racial laws or against the concentration camps. Indeed, leaders of the Confessing Church waited until 1943, two years after they knew about the extermination of Jews, to break their silence by sending an official protest to Hitler, but they lacked the courage to sign their own statement. Catholic leaders showed similar irresolution and weakness. It was not until June 1945, with Hitler safely dead, that Pius XII could bring himself to castigate Nazism as "the arrogant Apostacy of Jesus Christ."

As others have before him, Conway concludes that with a few heroic exceptions like Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Martin Niemöller, Father Bernhard Lichtenberg, Protestant Bishop Wurm of Würtemberg, and Catholic Bishop Galen of Münster, both churches made little effort to arouse their congregations against the enormities of the Third Reich. Bishop Otto Dibelius, leader of the Evangelical Christians under the Nazis and late president of the World Council of Churches, is a case in point. He publicly praised the Nazi boycott of the Jews because it was conducted "in conditions of complete law and order," and he confided to his brothers in Christ, "I have always regarded myself as an anti-Semite."

Conway catalogues carefully in clear and flat prose the methods used by the Nazis in harassing the church. He shows that here, as in other areas of the Nazi system, there was not a single organized policy. Instead, the Nazi hierarchy was torn by factionalism, feuds, and bureaucratic empire building. Hitler dealt with conflicting policies toward the churches as he did with other struggles within his Reich: he took no firm line; he allowed each faction to develop without throwing support to any one. Thus he encouraged and then deserted such protagonists as the hapless Reichsbishop Müller, leader of the German Christians, and Hans Kerrl, Hitler's Minister of Church Affairs. And while denouncing the barbarities of the ultraneopagans, he did little to discourage their bizarre sacrileges.

Conway is quite right when he says in his introduction that a close study of these methods should "throw new light on the processes by which Nazi totalitarianism sought to impose its rule on all aspects of German life." It should indeed. But this book does not really fulfill that promise. In this respect the conclusion is particularly disappointing. Instead of reaching a firm judgment showing how an understanding of Nazi religious persecution increases our understanding of the Third Reich, Conway simply repeats the familiar reasons why the Christian community was so ineffective in resisting the Nazi anti-Christ. I miss particularly a closer analysis of the whole problem, so pertinent to this study, of party factionalism and how Hitler utilized it for his own purposes. Conway shows that factionalism existed; he presents the evidence, but he does not do enough with his excellent material. On this subject,

he could have profited greatly from the suggestive work of Joseph Nyomarkay (*Charisma and Factionalism in the Nazi Party* [1967]).

This fair-minded book is, nevertheless, the most comprehensive, balanced, and complete study in any language on church-state relations during the Third Reich. My regret is that a good book was not made better.

Williams College

R. G. L. WAITE

THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF GERMANY: POLITICS AND THE MILITARY, 1945-1949. By *John Gimbel*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 335. \$8.75.)

FOLLOWING up his fine case study of Marburg (*A German Community under American Occupation* [1961]), Professor Gimbel has now extended his study of American military government to the whole of the US Zone in Germany. This work differs from earlier books on the occupation by Harold Zink, Edward H. Litchfield, Eugene Davidson, and others who have treated the subject more or less in its entirety and in a general manner; it concentrates almost exclusively on the political aspects. It is a penetrating study that does not, however, ignore the interaction of political and economic factors and of the politics of the four occupying powers. It is also based on a much wider use of official records both in Germany and in the United States, and, therefore, it reveals more concerning the reactions of Germans to American policies during the turbulent postwar years. In addition to exploiting the records of OMGUS (Office of Military Government US) and the pertinent military documents, the author has drawn heavily on official records in the *Bundesarchiv* in Koblenz, the state archives in Munich, Stuttgart, Wiesbaden, and Bremen, as well as the *Bundestag* library in Bonn. State Department archives are, of course, not generally accessible for this period; nor are papers of bipartite (Anglo-American) origin or those of the Allied Control Council in Berlin.

Gimbel has carefully traced the development of American occupation policies since the Potsdam Conference and the changing organizational patterns to implement them. He rightly emphasizes the multiplicity of aims and the changing priorities that gave rise to a widely held view that our occupation policy was confused, unstable, or even nonexistent, at least until the Stuttgart speech of Secretary of State Byrnes in September 1946 gave the green light to a more positive policy. He argues convincingly that there was more continuity to American policy than is often assumed, for it reflected the continuing interests of the United States. General Lucius D. Clay, the strong-willed, intelligent, and competent military governor, tried at first to carry out conscientiously the provisions, chiefly punitive, of the secret army directive JCS 1067 and of the Potsdam Agreement, but the realities of the German situation gradually led him to press Washington for a revision of the directive in order to accelerate the economic rehabilitation of Germany. Not until July 1947 did the new directive JCS 1779 officially sanction the forward-looking OMGUS policies already in effect for months.

Gimbel's dispassionate analysis rightly reinforces the fact, not sufficiently realized heretofore, that the main obstacle to a unified policy in the veto-ridden Allied Control Council for establishing central administrative agencies in Germany was not the Soviet Union but France, who, until 1948, categorically refused to go along until the question of the Saar, the Rhineland, and the Ruhr industries had been settled in favor of French security demands.

Besides carrying out the punitive program of JCS 1067 and Potsdam, OMGUS officials wanted to revive the German economy in order to reduce occupation costs and to contribute to the economic reconstruction of Europe. At the same time they worked to oppose Communism and socialism and to resist French pressure to partition Germany in the West and Soviet efforts to participate in the control of the Ruhr. Finally, they were committed to the early establishment of democratic political institutions and the re-education or reorientation of the German people. Some of these objectives were contradictory in their effects, and Gimbel's study gives ample evidence of disagreements and tensions between the men in the field and the administration in Washington in their mutual efforts to solve these contradictions.

Even after the decision had been made by the British and American governments in 1946 to merge their respective occupation zones and to establish a provisional government in order to create a magnet that would attract the French and Soviet Zones, American occupation policies continued to be wracked by cross-purposes. De-Nazification and dismantlings, both violently unpopular, continued for several more years, even though Washington had pressed for an early termination. Moreover, as the author elaborates in two chapters on the theme "Democracy or Necessity," considerations of economic and political necessity sometimes forced OMGUS to violate democratic ideals and practices. For OMGUS encountered considerable resistance from German leaders in its determination to create a West German state since they rightly feared that it might jeopardize Germany's reunification. Only after the London Foreign Ministers' Conference of November 1947 had demonstrated the impossibility of four-power agreement and after the Soviets began to blockade Berlin in response to Allied plans for a West German government did the German leaders accept the inevitable. And even then they insisted that the new government be a provisional arrangement (as symbolized by the term "Basic Law" for the constitution). *C'est seulement le provisoire qui dure!*

Gimbel has produced a lucid, objective, and valuable work that adds many new facets to our knowledge of American military government. Copious notes and commentaries further illuminate historical sources and problems.

American University

CARL G. ANTHON

PRIVATE WEALTH IN RENAISSANCE FLORENCE: A STUDY OF FOUR FAMILIES. By *Richard A. Goldthwaite*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 311. \$8.50.)

THE Florentines had a passion for keeping records, which is one reason why the city is overrun by historians. But most scholars keep to the public records, leaving most private materials—*ricordanze*, diaries, letters, property deeds, and, especially, account books—to the occasional business or economic historian and more often to total obscurity. There are reasons for this. As Professor Goldthwaite tells us, the account books are "hopelessly dull"; he modestly neglects to add that they are also extremely difficult to read and unrewarding to the seeker of the quick generalization. To take such dry, stubborn materials and to breathe life into them require patience, painfully acquired skill, and a fine historical imagination, and Goldthwaite has them all.

The four families of his title are the Strozzi, Guicciardini, Gondi, and Capponi, who accumulated business fortunes and achieved public prominence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Through their household records Goldthwaite has created a picture of Florentine patrician family history from the inside, as it were, that has

important and varied implications. His central themes are family structure and consciousness in relation to the changing pressures of public authority, economic exigencies, and the distinctive values of Florentine society. Challenging the usual assumptions (they are no more than that) of the persistence of extended family solidarity, he builds a theory of the emergence of the nuclear family unit, which expressed itself in such ways as a new interest in domestic life and in childhood (Philippe Ariès' "discovery of childhood" is here antedated in the Italian Renaissance) and a developing individualism in politics and business activity. In conjunction with this, he sees the appearance of a new dynastic consciousness that expressed itself in a concern for genealogy, domestic architecture, and family monuments and, ultimately, in the attainment of aristocratic distinctions. One of the best aspects of this book is the way in which family history is interwoven with social, economic, political, and cultural history, producing significant insights in all these areas. Since space is lacking in which to discuss them here, this review must end by urging all Renaissance historians and others interested in solid historical scholarship combined with fertile thinking to read it.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

DONALD WEINSTEIN

GILES OF VITERBO ON CHURCH AND REFORM: A STUDY IN RENAISSANCE THOUGHT. By *John W. O'Malley, S. J.* [Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, Volume V.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1968. Pp. xii, 215. 36 gls.)

HISTORIANS have become increasingly aware of the wide variety in the currents of reform during the decades preceding the Reformation. The period poses intriguing questions such as why the reforming Carmelite general, Baptista Mantuanus, remained within the fold while the papal nuncio and bishop, Pietro Paolo Vergerio, developed into an evangelical. As the general of the Augustinian order when Luther visited Rome and as the man who delivered the great humanist call to reform at the Fifth Lateran Council on the very eve of the Reformation, Giles of Viterbo is a particularly fascinating figure. Since Giuseppe Signorelli and Francis Martin have already written on Giles's biography, this learned monograph undertakes to present the most important elements of Giles's thought and then to relate them to Church reform.

Giles's intellectual development moved from the editorship of Giles of Rome to enthusiasm for the Neoplatonism of Ficino to a final, unswerving commitment to the Jewish mysticism of the cabala, which he explored for sources of spiritual rejuvenation. From Latin and Greek he progressed to Hebrew and Aramaic. His *Scechina*, a cabalistic treatise, was the only major work by Giles to be published. While his orthodoxy was beyond question, he undertook to harmonize with ecclesiastical dogma all that he felt was good in non-Christian thought. Like Ficino, he drew on the *prisci theologi* for wisdom and maintained that there was an inner core of religious wisdom, a *disciplina arcani*, not open to all. The Platonic component of Giles's thought has long been recognized, but the extent of his involvement not only with the cabala but with the Hermetic corpus and with Zoroaster, Orpheus, Origen, and Joachim of Flora comes as a surprise and offers novel insight into his mentality.

Giles used the *sephiroth* as a device for organizing history into a scheme that marked the ten stages of decline in the history of the Church. The most important single extant manuscript, the *Historia XX Saeculorum*, was a history of the papacy

designed to instruct Pope Leo X as to his duties and responsibilities in that crucial moment of history. Giles was fundamentally conservative, looking to a restoration of the Church to the primitive simplicity and purity of the first centuries before Constantine, although paradoxically he favored humanist learning and the building of great cathedrals, if truly magnificent, to the honor of God. The idea of reform by an *aggiornamento* introducing *res novae* was foreign to those centuries, when the idea of return to a golden age was the most powerful force. Loyal to Rome and the papacy, Giles saw even councils as "ambiguous realities." "Men must be changed by religion, not religion by men," was his theme.

Given the high quality of this volume, it seems gratuitous to be in the least critical, but every reviewer should pay his respects to Juvenal's *Si malus est, nequeo laudare*. There are occasional lapses into pedantry, repeating the Latin text in the notes even where doing so makes no special point and not crediting the reader with an adequate memory for thoughts expressed earlier in the volume. Placing Giles into the broader context of Augustinian revival in that age would provide a better perspective on him. We have here, nevertheless, another excellent volume in what is steadily growing into a very distinguished series.

Stanford University

LEWIS W. SPITZ

VENICE AND THE DEFENSE OF REPUBLICAN LIBERTY: RENAISSANCE VALUES IN THE AGE OF THE COUNTER REFORMATION.

By William J. Bouwsma. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 670. \$12.75.)

THIS lengthy, learned volume should banish once and for all two of the most persistent textbook errors about the Italian Renaissance: that it was chiefly a Florentine phenomenon, and that it came abruptly to an end sometime after the siege of 1530. On the basis of a thorough review of all the recent Italian scholarship in the field and a critical rereading of all the major historical and political texts of the late sixteenth century, it proposes a much more accurate geographical and chronological framework. Florence did, Bouwsma admits, lead the rest of Italy in the *quattrocento*, largely because Venetians were too busy making money and building a continental empire. But when Cosimo I destroyed its liberty and suffocated its intellectual creativity (Bouwsma accepts the judgment of the Venetian ambassador to that effect), Florence yielded its role to Venice, the only large independent republic left in Italy. Venetians were now willing to accept the obligation. The near-disaster of 1509 had shaken their complacency, and the Florentine exiles of the 1520's and 1530's had taught them to think critically and historically about what they were doing. When the party of the *Giovani* came to power in the 1580's, they began applying what they had learned to their own as well as to other states. And, during the Interdict crisis of 1607, they expanded the themes of their Florentine predecessors toward still wider conclusions. The Renaissance thus culminated not in the *History of Italy* of 1540 but in the *History of the Council of Trent* of 1619. And its last great representative was not the Florentine Francesco Guicciardini but the Venetian Paolo Sarpi.

To be sure, Bouwsma's definition of the Renaissance leaves out many of the fields with which the term has traditionally been associated. It excludes the fine arts, music, poetics, science, and speculative philosophy, or, rather, it includes them only to the extent that they were used as instruments of political ideologies (like the frescoes in the Doge's Palace). And it takes account of economic and social conditions only to

the extent that they indicate the vitality of the state in which Renaissance culture flourished. Thus Bouwsma rejects, at least implicitly, all previous definitions drawn from a consideration of these fields—Burckhardt's discovery of the individual, Benedetto Croce's autonomy of politics and aesthetics, Federico Chabod's emergence of a self-conscious bureaucracy, and Paul Oskar Kristeller's development of the humanistic disciplines. The principal innovation of the Renaissance, Bouwsma insists, is something like what Hans Baron described as "Civic Humanism" in the early fifteenth century. He calls it republicanism. By this term he means first of all an insistence upon government by many equals rather than by a hierarchy or an absolute prince and upon independent regional states rather than some sort of universal monarchy. He means an appreciation of the present rather than a veneration of the past, a preference for a life of action rather than one of contemplation, and a tendency to argue from history rather than principles, from the contingent rather than the absolute, from the practical rather than the theoretical, and from a literal rather than an allegorical reading of texts. Thus republicanism goes well beyond the limits of politics. In demanding a greater role for the laity and the exclusion of the clergy from temporal concerns, it extends into ecclesiology. And, in emphasizing individual piety rather than ritual and dogma, it has wide implications for religion as well.

Bouwsma's method in arriving at this definition is to some extent that of the great Renaissance historians about whom he writes. He follows them, that is, in stressing the impact of outstanding individuals upon the course of history. Hence, what he says about Florence is based almost wholly on the works of Salutati, Bruni, Machiavelli, and Guicciardini; what he says about Venice is based largely on those of Patrizi, Paruta, Sarpi, and the Contarini. He is interested only in those to whom republicanism was relevant—namely, the patricians and their more vocal representatives. And he realizes the futility of looking for it either in the day-to-day transactions of government officials (where Nicolai Rubinstein and Sergio Bertelli have found the roots of "Machiavellism" in Florence) or in the lives and opinions of those who were excluded from politics—citizens, subjects, plebeians, and parish priests.

But Bouwsma's method also derives in part from the modern school of intellectual history. Thus he treats republicanism frequently as if it were an idea with an existence independent of any particular historical circumstances. Its chief characteristics are constant in all periods, and it is always confronted by an equally consistent antithesis. The antithesis predominated in the Middle Ages. Republicanism predominated in two Italian states between 1402 and 1619. The antithesis regained strength during the Counter Reformation. And republicanism finally succumbed to it when each of the states successively lost its will to resist. Yet these ideas are not merely Platonic abstractions, as Bouwsma well knows after being dragged out of the classroom and into the tear gas at Berkeley. They manifest themselves in concrete institutions. Hence the Renaissance turns out to be not a new synthesis but a bitter conflict between two irreconcilable ideas. This conflict is manifested in an equally bitter conflict between two irreconcilable kinds of institutions: the Florentine and Venetian Republics (and perhaps the Lutheran and Orthodox Churches) on one side, and the Roman Catholic Church on the other.

Needless to say, this vision of history is far too broad to win immediate acceptance. Some readers will probably wonder whether the citizens of Verona under the *Giovani* were really better off than the citizens of Pisa under Ferdinando I. Others may wonder whether the Tridentine decrees really were aimed more at

Italian republics than at Protestant princes and whether the "authorities of the Counter Reformation" were really so completely united in their opposition to *quattrocento* culture. Still others may wonder whether Pius II and Campanella really belong in the same category with Pius V and Bellarmine. But as a working hypothesis, this vision will certainly challenge historians for many years to come. And none of them can fail to be impressed by the erudition and eloquence with which it is here presented.

University of Chicago

ERIC COCHRANE

EDUCAZIONE E POLITICA NEL MEZZOGIORNO D'ITALIA (1767-1860).

By *Angelo Broccoli*. [Storici antichi e moderni, New Series, Number 18.] (Florence: La Nuova Italia. 1968. Pp. 250. L. 2,000.)

THIS book is a noteworthy addition to the historical literature on the Italian South. Centering on public education in the Mezzogiorno during the era of the *Risorgimento*, the author holds, and demonstrates, that the study of education during this period can reveal much about southern culture and its evolution. Most specifically, he focuses on the cultural evolution of the southern bourgeoisie—that "degenerate bourgeoisie" observed by Carlo Levi during his year of incarceration in the South by the Fascists. What the author is really interested in, indeed, is the genesis of the "Southern Question."

For this day and age there is much in this volume of interest on the professors and students of Naples, especially on the disorders of the latter! Broccoli's analysis of the thought of leading figures of southern culture, such as Genovesi, Cuocco, and De Sanctis, is particularly valuable. His pages on Cuocco, the philosopher of the "passive" Neapolitan revolution of 1799, especially deserve to be read. He sees Cuocco, with his concept of "two peoples" (one, the irrational mass that is to be led; the other, the rational elite that is to lead), as the philosopher par excellence of southern bourgeois ideology. It should be mentioned that this book seems to be rather heavily flavored with economic determinism. The author is too harsh in attributing pure class motivation to such *meridionalisti* as Villari, Sonnino, Franchetti, and Fortunato. Yet it is difficult to disagree with his main argument that the southern bourgeoisie, evolving as landed and conservative, quickly became, from fear of the popular classes, especially the peasants, the defender of the static, backward society of the South and did not see, as did the northern bourgeoisie, that it was in their own economic interests to educate and uplift these classes. Indeed, in refusing to undertake the economic redemption of these classes, it sought to substitute for economic or social reform an education that would inculcate respect for the constituted social order. Such an education was meaningless to the *cafoni*; and they could not take advantage of any education without an improvement in their economic status.

University of California, Santa Barbara

DONALD A. LIMOLI

STORIA DI UN ARMISTIZIO. By *Ivan Palermo*. ([Milan:] Arnoldo Mondadori Editore. 1967. Pp. 618. L. 4,000.)

Few developments in twentieth-century Italy have evoked harsher criticism and controversy than the Armistice of Cassibile, the related failure to defend Rome, and the dissolution of the Royal Army. Through "fortunate circumstances" Ivan Palermo, son of Mario Palermo, chairman of the Committee of Inquiry into the failure to defend

Rome, was able in 1965 to acquire a copy of the committee's report. He has here published the texts of fifty-five documents dealing with the armistice, most of them depositions or interrogations for the committee between October 1944 and March 1945. Combined with these is a narrative account of Italy's surrender.

Not all of this is new. Many of the leading figures whose sworn testimony and responses are here reproduced—Badoglio, Roatta, Carboni, Francesco Rossi, Castellano, Zanussi—soon published autobiographical accounts of their roles. We also have reports by several key persons who did not write memoirs, and the documents of the committee are, in any case, much closer to the events than the subsequent explanations. Although these selected documents are but a small fraction of the committee's work, they offer sound proof of many facts. Not all of the texts are complete, but there seems no reason to question their authenticity except for document Number 13, which was originally given the committee by General Carboni and was subsequently published in his work, *L'Armistizio e la difesa di Roma* (1945). Palermo advances an elaborate argument for the genuineness of this document, dated September 6, 1943.

The committee's mandate directed it to investigate the period from September 6 to 23. The chief weakness of the narrative concerns German-Italian relations after July 25 and the movement of German reinforcements into Italy in August. Several aspects of the story of Italy's surrender remain obscure. Why did Ambrosio, chief of the *Comando Supremo*, make the trip to Turin during the critical days of September 6 to 8? Palermo offers the explanation that the purpose was to bring in Marshal Caviglia to supplant Badoglio, an interesting hypothesis but not proved fact.

The Committee of Inquiry and Palermo are definitely harsher in their judgment on the members of the Italian high command than I have hitherto felt warranted by the evidence. I fully agree, however, that the ultimate responsibility for Italy's disasters of September 1943 lies with the King and Badoglio, who failed completely to indicate to the generals a sound political course.

Department of State

HOWARD M. SMYTH

ZWIĄZKI HANDLOWE MIAST POLSKICH Z GDAŃSKIEM W XVI I PIERWSZEJ POŁOWIE XVII WIEKU [Commercial Relations of the Polish Towns with Danzig in the 16th and First Half of the 17th Century]. By *Jan M. Małecki*. [Polska Akademia Nauk—Oddział w Krakowie. Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, Number 20.] (Cracow: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1968. Pp. 272. Zł. 50.)

PREVIOUS studies on the commerce of Danzig (Gdańsk) have been limited mostly to trade by waterways. J. M. Małecki, a young Polish historian from Cracow, has tried to emphasize the role played by Polish cities in regard to commercial ties between Danzig and the hinterland.

This work is limited to a period extending from the beginning of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century. The author discusses mainly the range, character, and dynamics of trade. The first chapter analyzes trade relations between Danzig and Polish cities before 1526. The second chapter is concerned with the general aspect of commerce in these cities and stresses the territorial range of trade and its character. The following chapters describe the trade Danzig carried on with particular parts of Poland and the role played by that trade in the economy of feudal Poland.

The author concludes that trade between Polish cities and Danzig was largely

developed in that period. Besides using the Vistula River, which served as a vital means of transporting goods, trade was also carried overland, and the Polish burghers profited from that. The author rejects the idea that Danzig exploited the Polish cities and that its influence slowed down the economy of other Polish cities. On the contrary, the author considers Danzig's commercial activity as a relevant factor in the growth of inland trade, and also a direct factor in curtailing the negative consequences of the aristocracy's policy toward the burghers.

The major part of this study is based on the archives of Danzig and other Polish cities. Some already published primary sources have been used with great profit, in particular the book on the customs of Włocławek, edited by Kutrzeba in 1915.

Małecki's book presents a solid piece of research and is a welcome addition to the large and growing shelf of scholarly studies on Polish trade. The lucid and succinct text is supplemented by many statistical tables and a bibliography of primary sources.

Laurentian University

H. ZINS

J. A. COMENIUS AND THE CONCEPT OF UNIVERSAL EDUCATION. By *John Edward Sadler*. (London: George Allen and Unwin; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1966. Pp. 318. \$6.50.)

WRITTEN by a distinguished member of the College of Education at Birmingham, this book treats the problems of universal education as discussed by Comenius in numerous writings, especially in the manuscripts found in 1934 at Halle and known as the "General Consultation." There was no need for more than a short biographical outline, as books are available in English for anyone desiring detailed information. The best of them, Professor Spinka's *John Amos Comenius: That Incomparable Moravian*, was published in 1943 (not in 1934, as Mr. Sadler has it) and reappeared as a paperback in 1967.

Sadler's book was prepared in cooperation with the Comenius Research Group of the Pedagogical Institute in Prague and was written with unconcealed sympathy for Comenius' efforts to contribute by educational reform to the pacification of the Europe of his time. To avoid diffusion and repetition, the author has treated in detail four aims of universal education: the development of the "good man," the acquisition of encyclopedic knowledge, the building of the "good society," and the right deployment of human resources. A penetrating analysis of the principal theme of the "General Consultation" connects organically the first part of the book with its third and last section, which is concerned with more concrete problems than the first and second parts; that is, the third section deals with the instruments to promote universal education. They are discussed in the following order: the schools, the teachers, and the books.

In his evaluation of Comenius' work, the author changed the traditional view and put Comenius' intensive search for pansophy above his efforts to reform the school system. That interpretation, which was popular with authors living in the nineteenth century, was supported mainly by the existence of Comenius' collected works on education, an impressive volume that appeared in 1657 at Amsterdam. On the other hand, Comenius' endeavors to devise means by which all human knowledge would be given coherence were not crowned with spectacular success, and his last attempt to produce a comprehensive manual of pansophy remained a torso. Sadler's discussion of the idea of pansophy would have gained in precision if he had also

consulted the earlier specimen, preserved incompletely in the collection of Duke of Manchester manuscripts (Public Record Office; published in *Časopis Matice Moravské*, LII [1928], 178–98). In the bibliography I miss a volume of essays, *The Teacher of Nations* (1942), commemorating the 350th anniversary of Comenius' birth.

University of Pennsylvania

OTAKAR ODLOZILIK

RELATİLE AGRARE DIN SECOLUL AL XVIII-LEA ÎN MOLDOVA [Agrarian Relations in the 18th Century in Moldavia]. By V. Mihordea. [Academia Republicii Socialiste România, Institutul de Istorie "N. Iorga." Biblioteca Istorică, Number 14.] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1968. Pp. 313. Lei 21.50.)

THIS is a systematic and detailed investigation of the development of an important aspect of agriculture in eighteenth-century Moldavia—relations between the owners of land and the various categories of peasants who worked it. The book is divided into three main sections: "The Soil and Its Products," which surveys the chief branches of agriculture, the growth of the foreign and internal market, the effects of Ottoman suzerainty, and the various forms of landownership; "The Workers of the Land," which treats the origins of the *vecini* (serfs) and their obligations to the landlord and the state, the status of free peasant laborers, and the causes of the gradual amalgamation of these two groups in the second half of the eighteenth century; and "Feudal Dues," which describes the various tithes, labor services, and money payments that peasants owed their landlords, and seigneurial monopolies over milling and the sale of wine.

In preparing the first monograph on the subject, the author has had to rely mainly upon unpublished archival material, but he has also made extensive use of older, published collections of sources and secondary works that touch upon different aspects of the problems that concern him. Comprehensiveness and close attention to detail have enabled him to make important original contributions of fact and interpretation to the agrarian history of Moldavia. He has, for example, determined the precise obligations of the *vecini* toward their masters and established the distinction between the status of the *vecini*, who were "bound to the soil," and that of all peasants, generally, who were "bound to the village" in the interest of the state treasury; he has also demonstrated the identity of interests between the ruling prince and the landlords, which disproves the old assumption that the former was little more than an agent of the Ottoman Sultan, and has shown that the peasants, far from being a passive element, exerted a considerable influence on the evolution of agrarian relations through their resistance to increased dues and labor services. Of great interest also is the introductory bibliographical essay, which covers the pertinent literature from the works of the seventeenth-century chronicler, Miron Costin, to the most recent contributions of Rumanian and Soviet scholars. Mihordea has high, and justly deserved, praise for the works of Radu Rosetti, which were published at the beginning of the present century. Of the studies published since the Second World War he feels that those of P. P. Panaitescu deserve special attention. Soviet works, he finds, generally exhibit a limited acquaintance with the sources and a tendency to interpret data in accordance with some preconceived formula.

Perhaps the main criticism that one may make of this work is the author's failure to put his subject in a broad historical perspective. This would have enhanced the importance of his findings, for we would have been better able to gauge the

influence of agrarian changes on the general political and social development of Moldavia itself and the latter's relations with the Ottoman suzerain and to compare the situation in Moldavia with that in Southeastern Europe generally.

University of Illinois, Champaign

KEITH HITCHINS

BERZEVICZY GERGELY, A REFORMPOLITIKUS (1763–1795) [Gergely Berzeviczy, the Reform Politician (1763–1795)]. By Éva H. Balázs. [Magyar Történelmi Társulat.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1967. Pp. 387. Ft. 70.)

GERGELY Berzeviczy (1763–1822) has been the object of much historical research over the years. The novelty of the present book is that it concentrates on Berzeviczy's formative years rather than on his better-known literary activities after 1795. With a keen eye for social history, the author shows how Berzeviczy's social environment helped to shape both his family tradition and his own mental attitude. Szepesség (East Slovakia), the site of the family estates of the Berzeviczys, who were members of the Protestant gentry, was a melting pot of different ethnic groups and languages, of Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Jews. Living so close together, they became tolerant of each other as in few other parts of the country. The poor soil of the area forced the gentry to be more resourceful and interested in commerce and industry than their peers on the fertile Great Hungarian Plain.

The author describes Berzeviczy's education in the most enlightened German university, the Georgia Augusta in Göttingen, and his subsequent grand tour of Western Europe. These experiences put the finishing touches on the man, who was an enlightened cosmopolitan, an active Freemason, and a radical social, economic, and political reformer. He tried hard to use his persuasions to good effect during his five years in office in the central executive organ of the Hungarian government in Buda, the *Consilium regium locumtenentiale hungaricum*. His involvement in the Jacobin conspiracy forced him to resign in mid-1795 and retire to his estates, where he started writing. Balázs ends her story here.

Jenő Gaál in 1909 unintentionally applied an incorrect interpretation to Berzeviczy as an unconditional admirer of Emperor Joseph II. His misinterpretation was the result of his lack of many of the pertinent documents, but it has persisted for a long time. Now Miss Balázs, who has mastered all of the documents, has set the record straight, a task that had already been begun when the Hungarian Jacobin's papers were published by Kálmán Benda between 1952 and 1957.

Eighty documents are included in the present book, all in print for the first time. Most of them are in the original German or Latin; the rest are in Hungarian. Balázs has already published several first-rate studies of the period; her latest contribution is valuable indeed.

Brooklyn College

BÉLA K. KIRÁLY

KOLISZCZYŻNA. By Władysław A. Serczyk. [Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Number 193. Prace Historyczne, Number 24.] (Cracow: Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. 1968. Pp. 173. Zł. 28.)

DURING the eighteenth century the Right-Bank Ukraine was the arena for a series of Haydamak movements. These popular uprisings were directed against the existing social order and its concomitant religious and national oppression of the Ukrainian-Orthodox population by the Polish-Catholic gentry. The Haydamak rebellions, in-

fluenced in form and spirit by old Cossack traditions, shook the social structure of the Right-Bank Ukraine to its roots. The conditions that these rebellions created within the Polish state encouraged foreign, especially Russian, intervention. The crest of the Haydamak rebellions was reached in 1768, in the so-called Koliivshchyna.

In dealing with these movements, Professor Serczyk's monograph is characterized by its use of abundant Polish and Ukrainian documentary materials. The approach to and treatment of this data are scholarly and objective. The author's excellent knowledge of pertinent material is evident throughout although one is struck by the lack of reference to O. Hermaizes' important "Koliivshchyna v svitli novo-znaidenykh materialiv" (*Ukraina* [No. 1-2, 1924], 19-81). The sections on the socioeconomic and religious situation immediately preceding Koliivshchyna are especially valuable. Based on the author's own meticulous research, these chapters provide the most detailed analysis to date of the social movements in that territory. The role of religious factors as motivating forces in the uprisings is correctly emphasized, but Hegumen Melchisedek Znachko-Iavors'ky can hardly be called "the spiritual leader of this movement."

Other sections deal with the capture of Uman by the rebels, the quelling of the revolt by the Russians, and the punishment of the rebels. The author has carefully delineated the chronological course of events and analyzed the social composition of the rebellion. In general he correctly characterizes the policy of the Russian government toward Koliivshchyna, but he is mistaken in saying that "the Russian government considered the rebels as its allies" (against the Bar Confederates). Actually the government of Catherine II opposed Koliivshchyna from the beginning. The author is correct in treating it as something more complex than a peasant uprising, but he seems to underestimate the role of the national factor in the movement.

This monograph also includes two maps, copies of various documents, and a résumé in Russian. In conclusion, one may say that this work is a valuable addition to the historiography of Koliivshchyna and Eastern Europe.

Harvard University

ALEKSANDER OHLOBLYN

MODERN GREECE. By *John Campbell* and *Philip Sherrard*. [Nations of the Modern World.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1968. Pp. 426. \$9.00.)

In this outstanding joint enterprise, the authors, British scholars already known for their firsthand experience of Greek life and for their previous publications on modern Greece, have consulted the files of leading Greek and English newspapers and utilized unpublished material of other scholars on urbanization, family structure, village society, and the civil service in Greece. Even where they have synthesized already known information, which is mainly the case, they have done so in such a way as to provide new and penetrating insights. Their book is basically concerned with Greek culture as reflected in social values and institutional arrangements. It covers economic, social, and intellectual developments and treats them, along with political patterns, as related aspects of one underlying cultural configuration. This approach enables the authors to make new connections between ostensibly disparate phenomena. Through a penetrating analysis of social values, the role of the family, and the institution of patronage, they account for persisting economic and political patterns, treat these as coordinates of each other, and explain apparent contradictions in Greek behavior. In two of the best chapters of the book, one on the church in

Greece and the other on modern Greek literature, they depict modern Greek history as a product of two conflicting "mythological perspectives," one focusing on Byzantium, the other on ancient Greece.

While the book deals essentially with the period of Greek statehood from 1821 to the early months of 1968, the first two chapters do take the reader back to the late Byzantine and Ottoman periods. And, while much of the book is basically chronological and narrative in form (Chapters II-V and VIII), the primary approach is analytical. It is here that the book is most rewarding, especially the last three chapters on economic dilemmas, the Greek countryside, and the city and state, respectively. This judicious approach is complemented by an equally fine balance between analysis of change and discernment of continuity, though again continuity receives the greater stress.

In comparison with the book's virtues, its weaknesses are minor. The absence of footnotes makes it impossible to check specific sources of information. Excessively long sentences, poor punctuation, and complicated syntax undermine clarity of expression. Some readers may feel that many of the judgments of Greek society are too harsh. One can also take issue with individual interpretations and assert, as could be done with any conceptually sophisticated analysis, that the reality was more complex. Certainly a detailed or exhaustive treatment of any one subject must be sought elsewhere. Nevertheless, for the specialist as well as the nonspecialist, this book is and will probably remain intellectually exciting and illuminating. It is undoubtedly the best and most comprehensive introduction to the subject yet available.

Amherst College

JOHN A. PETROPULOS

DOKUMENTY KOMITETU CENTRALNEGO NARODOWEGO I RZĄDU NARODOWEGO, 1862-1864 [Documents of the Central National Committee and the National Government, 1862-1864]. Edited by E. Halicz *et al.* [Polska Akademia Nauk, Instytut Historii. Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych. Powstanie Styczniowe, Materiały i Dokumenty.] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. 1968. Pp. lxxvii, 661. Zł. 170.)

THIS volume, the latest in a series of published documents on the January uprising, continues to present primary sources involving the secret, insurrectional National Government. The series began with the publication of the diplomatic correspondence (Adam Lewak, *Polska Działalność Dyplomatyczna* [1937]). All the presently available acts of the Central Committee and National Government are included, except for the diplomatic and military papers. The military papers will soon be published.

The insurrectional administration issued about 6,000 documents, of which only about 10 per cent exist because of Russian persecution and the disaster stemming from the Warsaw uprising of 1944. This volume contains 559 documents covering the period from July 24, 1862, to September 27, 1864. Most have never been published before, except those during the days of the revolt. Some are preserved in their original form, some are cited in memoirs and others works, and some are copies done by scholars before World War II.

The documents are divided into six sections, according to jurisdiction: the central administration, the police department, the National Police, the chief of the city of Warsaw, the central administration in Lithuania and White Ruthenia, and the central administration in Ruthenia. Within the sections they are arranged chronologically, with short footnotes accompanying most of the documents. While this volume was be-

ing printed, twenty-eight more documents were found, and additional discoveries should add to the existing collection.

The documents cover the executive, legislative, and judicial activities of the secret government, and they provide a vivid picture of its preparation for the uprising and its behavior during the military struggle. The avowed aim was restoration of the old commonwealth and, thus, reconstruction of the former union of Poland, Lithuania, and Ruthenia. The struggle against Russia was seen not only as a political or national conflict, but, as was constantly stressed in proclamations and notes to the Western countries and cabinets, it was also seen as a defense of European civilization against further Russian advances and encroachments.

The editors have performed their task with thorough attention to detail, and the footnotes are short, precise, and learned. A brief introduction contains the outline of the history of the Central Committee and the National Government, followed by a bibliographical statement concerning the sources used. Unfortunately, an unnecessary Marxist interpretation mars this well-prepared publication. The January uprising was not caused, as the editors claim, by the crisis of feudalism; nor was it compelled by "economic and social needs." These documents present a different reason: the desire to regain independence.

Saint Mary's University

STANISŁAW BÓBR-TYLINGO

ČSR A STŘEDOEVROPSKÁ POLITIKA VELMOCÍ 1918–1938 [The Czechoslovak Republic and the Central European Policy of the Great Powers 1918–1938].

By *Alena Gajanová*. (Prague: Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. 1967. Pp. 386. Kčs. 28.50.)

NAD EVROPOU ZATAŽENO [Overcast over Europe]. By *Robert Kvaček*. (Prague: Svoboda. 1966. Pp. 451. Kčs. 32.50.)

MNICHOV A EDVARD BENEŠ [Munich and Eduard Beneš]. By *Mila Lvoová*. (Prague: Nakladatelství Svoboda. 1968. Pp. 286. Kčs. 16.)

THE study of Czechoslovak foreign policy offers an invaluable introduction to an understanding of the relationship between small states and the Great Powers, a relationship that has been one of the outstanding issues of interwar Europe. Since 1918 the Czechoslovak Republic rather ambitiously sought to promote an independent foreign policy. In the 1920's it endeavored to assume a dominant position in Central Europe before Germany and Russia, weakened by war and revolution, could resume their traditional policies. Czechoslovakia's official political philosophy of humanism was designed to link the state to the Western democratic movement and thus strengthen its European status.

Czechoslovak historiography, since 1963, has sought a more judicial approach to historical evidence. This approach has been implemented by recently published studies of the international position of pre-Munich Czechoslovakia by three eminently qualified Czech scholars. The volumes are products of impressive research based on a wealth of hitherto unused primary materials from the well-organized Czech archives. These works clearly supersede *O československé zahraniční politice v letech 1918–1939* (1956), which favors Stalin. The two works by Gajanová and Kvaček contain résumés in English. There are, naturally, some reservations in regard to their terminological limitations; these are perhaps unavoidable in a Communist-dominated country. The books suffer occasionally from pseudo-Marxist generalizations about Czechoslovak

bourgeois policy and Western imperialism, which also derive from Communist party-line propaganda.

Alena Gajanová's straightforward treatment centers on the 1920's, when the republic aspired to fill the power vacuum in Central Europe, and it gives only a very general over-all view of the post-1933 era. The author exposes the one-sided notions prevalent about the uncritical pro-French line of the Beneš foreign policy. Actually, Czechoslovak commitment to the Western Powers was based on Beneš' belief in the common interests of democratic countries. He strove, therefore, to maintain Franco-British cooperation. Beneš attempted basically to consolidate and pacify Central Europe. Prague relentlessly sought a *modus vivendi* with both Germany and Soviet Russia and refused to become a French-directed spearhead against Germany. In organizing the Little Entente, Prague sought not only to restrict Hungary but also to devise a nucleus of independent states that would stand firm against any interference by a major power. The important portions of the volume trace the expansion of Italy in Central Europe and describe the tortured story of its hostility toward the Czechoslovak state, which opposed the transformation of the Danubian area into an Italian sphere of interest. The volume also delineates the economic implications of many diplomatic actions.

This informative but overly descriptive work treats topics that have been neglected by Western scholars, and it presents the only comprehensive examination of Prague's policies to date. Gajanová's main purpose was not to write an exhaustive history of Czechoslovak international activities but to show the main lines of the state's steady adjustment "to the changes in the international political development." Although the author refrains from injecting condemnations into her soberly factual narrative, her sympathies are clearly on the Czech side. The book provides a challenging but still tentative synthesis that undoubtedly will greatly facilitate probings by historical scholars. However, the style is dull, and the absence of a subject index is regrettable.

Kvaček's object is to set Czechoslovak "international activities within the general trends of development in Europe." In this painstakingly accurate, meticulously documented, and remarkably comprehensive first volume of a planned history of Munich, the author examines Czechoslovak foreign policy in the period between Hitler's coming to power and Lord Halifax' meeting with Hitler in November 1937. The narrative purportedly concentrates on the confrontation between the two main contending forces influencing Europe's destiny: the Western policy of appeasement and the quest of Beneš and Titulescu for institutional methods to resolve international conflicts and to create a durable structure of collective security that would protect small nations against aggression. Kvaček sheds new light on Beneš' frustrated efforts to stop the dissolution of the Little Entente and to overcome the handicap posed by the absence of a determined Western policy of resisting Hitler's ambitions.

The most significant sections of the work deal with the appalling results of the collapse of Prague's attempts to stabilize the political and economic fabric of Central and East Central Europe. Kvaček traces the intrigues and pressures of Rome and Berlin that were aimed at preventing any meaningful cooperation among the small states and at playing off one country against another. It is the author's contention that Beneš was a pivotal figure, persistently devising new plans for the establishment of a bloc of Central European states based on their common economic and security interests. The remilitarization of the Rhineland in March 1936 is viewed as the watershed of the 1930's. It severely restricted the scope of an active Czechoslovak foreign policy, although Prague still continued to pursue its policy "of seeking a

modus vivendi with Germany" while preserving its independence and its democratic system. Kvaček's concern with the intricacies of the diplomatic history rightly leaves space for consideration of the domestic political setting and thus transcends what is traditionally considered diplomatic history.

This is a significant work, a basic source for future studies in the field. In a work of such merit it is perhaps fair, however, to ask for a more sober evaluation of the policies of the Comintern and the Communist party of Czechoslovakia. It is also unfortunate that the author's analytical approach fails to make his people come alive. Other factors that limit the book's effectiveness are an inadequate introduction and an absence of chapter conclusions and a final summary. Scholars, in particular, will note the lack of a subject index and a classified bibliography of the massive documentation cited in the text.

The two previous books provide diplomatic perspective, which is only one aspect of the events that generated the Munich Agreement. Mrs. Lvová gives a carefully documented account of the political and diplomatic activity of the main Czechoslovak protagonist, President Beneš, during the fateful days between September 19 and October 5, 1938. She exercises sound judgment in sorting out the various domestic and international strands and demonstrates convincingly that the independence of a small state such as Czechoslovakia was primarily determined by external circumstances. Her treatment is effective in showing that, after Godesberg, Prague had reason to hope that the Western Powers would not let it face Berlin alone. Lvová also shows the readiness of the Soviet Union to assist the republic. With outside assistance, Beneš was prepared to go to war. Ultimately he did not surrender to Hitler, but was forced to capitulate under threat from Czechoslovakia's own Western allies.

Although the presentation of the facts as viewed from Prague is fresh and informative, the volume is not without flaws. Unlike Kvaček, the author tends to ignore Stalin's purges and the Moscow trials as factors animating the anti-Soviet propaganda and thus helping Hitler. She also generally exaggerates the role played by the Communist party of Czechoslovakia. She fails to treat adequately the Czechoslovak Army's opposition to the capitulation prior to the Munich Conference. It is also a pity that the volume is not indexed. In spite of these defects, however, Lvová discharges her task with commendable skill.

For historians of Central Europe these three revealing studies will be extremely helpful. They become rich sources of new information and take an important place in the literature on Munich. Their evaluation of Beneš as an ambitious but tenacious leader tends to rehabilitate this (since 1948) much-maligned President. The authors reach the unanimous conclusion that Beneš had always tried to take an independent political position and never engaged in anti-German or anti-Soviet policies. Beneš tried hard to adjust his belief in the peaceful progress of international order to the new social and political realities. The books suggest that post-Munich developments vindicated his stand.

Tulane University

RADOMIR LUZA

THE FREE CITY: DANZIG AND GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1919-1934. By *Christoph M. Kimmich*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. 196. \$6.50.)

At the Peace Conference after World War I, the victors decided to resolve the conflict

between the promise of free access to the sea for Poland and the premise of nationality as a determinant of boundaries by the creation of the Free City of Danzig. A democratic constitution would assure control of internal affairs to the predominant German element in the Free City; special rights for Poland in regard to trade, customs, and foreign relations were designed to provide security for Poland's foreign trade needs. Resented equally by all, the compromise survived for two troubled decades and vanished in World War II.

This brief monograph traces the role of Danzig in German foreign policy and that of German domination of the internal affairs of Danzig from the establishment of the Free City to the signing of the German-Polish Declaration of Non-Aggression in January 1934. Kimmich shows how the hard line of revisionism dominated German policy from the start, how financial subsidies to the Danzig government assured control from Berlin, how the staffing of the Danzig administration subverted the concept of a Free City, how the whole issue was viewed by Gustav Stresemann, and how the rise of Gdynia as a Polish port combined with the depression to ruin the economy of Danzig. Using German Foreign Office, Chancellery, Ministry of Finance, and other archives, as well as published materials—no items in Polish appear in the bibliography—the author traces the various facets of the Danzig problem, showing how Berlin's hope of using the Danzig question to open up the whole issue of territorial revision dominated specific policy determinations. In fact, although Kimmich does not point this out explicitly, the instrumentalization of Danzig by Berlin for its own purposes first helped ruin Danzig's economy and finally terminated its existence as a German city. German revisionist propaganda feared a separation of the Danzig problem from the Corridor issue and thereby helped pave the way for the permanent loss of both.

The value of Kimmich's book lies in its tracing of the role of Danzig in German policy in the Weimar period; the chapter on the first year of National Socialist rule is the weakest in the book. Some of the key documents from the mid-1920's cited by Kimmich have been published in "Series B" of the German Foreign Ministry documents, but the overlapping of publication dates probably makes this kind of complication unavoidable. I would have liked greater detail on the currents in Danzig that ran counter to the official line; the author merely refers to them, but his own picture of the policy actually followed would have been sharper if the views of dissenters had been presented more fully. Kimmich's book will undoubtedly be compared with Ludwig Denne's *Das Danzig-Problem in der deutschen Aussenpolitik 1934-39* (1959), which carries the story to the outbreak of World War II. I would hold that Kimmich's work, though briefer, is far more perceptive in its handling of both the issues and the sources.

University of Michigan

GERHARD L. WEINBERG

REVÍZIÓ ÉS NEMZETISÉGPOLITIKA MAGYARORSZÁGON (1938-1941) [Revision and Nationality Policy in Hungary (1938-1941)]. By *Loránt Tilkovszky*. [A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1967. Pp. 349. Ft. 65.)

REVISIONISM as it was practiced by three successive Hungarian cabinets in the interwar years is examined in this book from a new viewpoint. The author subjects the policies of the Imrédy, Teleki, and Bárdossy cabinets to a close examination after they had succeeded, with the help of Nazi Germany and the two Vienna Awards, in partially revising the borders of the Hungarian state. These policies were proof that neither the cabinets nor the general Hungarian public learned the lessons of the dismemberment of

the Habsburg monarchy. Instead of conducting a policy of reconciliation, the Hungarians wanted to Magyarize the Slovak, Ruthenian, and Rumanian minorities returned to Hungary by the Awards.

The burden of guilt must be shared by the governments, whose attempts at introducing autonomy in Carpatho-Ukraine were sabotaged by their own personnel, the military authorities, and the general public. The chauvinist atmosphere dominant in Hungary proper made any sensible policy toward the minorities almost impossible, and greed for more territory drove the Hungarians into the arms of Hitler. The indigenous Hungarian population of the returned territories was often suspected of being "poisoned" by the propaganda of the enemy states. Because of these conditions, the partial success of revisionism weakened the social and political fabric of the Hungarian state.

The author used his sources diligently, but herein lies his problem. He limited himself to Hungarian and Czechoslovak source material, with just a few scattered Russian and Rumanian documents. He did not have access to the sources among the captured German documents. This, along with the fact that his treatment of Soviet expansion into Eastern Europe is, understandably, one sided, makes the work less valuable than other recent books on this subject published in Germany.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

JOSEPH HELD

VNESHNIAIA POLITIKA ROSSII XIX I NACHALA XX VEKA: DOKUMENTY ROSSIISKOGO MINISTERSTVA INOSTRANNYKH DEL [Russian Foreign Policy in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries: Documents of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs]. First Series, 1801-1815 GG. Volume V, APREL' 1809 G.-IANVAR' 1811 G. [April 1809-January 1811]. Edited by *A. L. Narochitskii et al.* [Ministerstvo Inostrannykh Del SSSR, Komissiiia po Izdaniiu Diplomaticheskikh Dokumentov pri MID SSSR.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury. 1967. Pp. 782.)

REVIEWERS of Volumes I-IV and VI of this collection of documents (*AHR*, LXVII [July 1962], 1110; LXVIII [July 1963], 1136; LXIX [Jan. 1964], 456; and LXXII [Jan. 1967], 647) have already commented on the meticulous scholarship that has gone into the editing of these volumes, with their helpful notes, tables, and name, subject, and geographical indexes. During the period covered by the documents in Volume V, Russian diplomats experienced increasing difficulties in dealing with their French allies, and, therefore, they began to prepare diplomatically for a new war in Europe. The nervousness with which Russian diplomats then viewed Napoleon's actions and diplomacy in regard to the grand duchy of Warsaw, the Ottoman Empire, and Central Europe is evident throughout this volume. Napoleon's seemingly boundless ambition particularly disturbed them. As the Russian ambassador to France, A. B. Kurakin, wrote on November 2, 1809: "Jamais l'ambition des conquérants ne put s'imposer à elle-même les limites qu'auraient prescrites la modération, ou même la prudence; et rien n'autorise à croire que le moment du repos soit enfin arrivé! Tout indique au contraire, dans la paix qui vient de se conclure, un nouveau pas vers de nouvelles entreprises." During the following year Russian diplomats found sufficient evidence of new French "enterprises" for Foreign Minister N. P. Rumiantsev to ask angrily: "pourquoi le quartier général qui se forme à Hambourg? A quelle fin un parc d'artillerie qui se trouvait à Ulm prend-il à l'heure qu'il est la route du Nord? Contre qui donc cette succession, cette échelle d'appêts militaires, lorsque la Suède a obéi et quand le Danemark et la Prusse se montrent pleins d'une juste déférence?"

The documents published in this volume are most valuable for the new details they provide concerning the measures taken by St. Petersburg policy makers in 1809 and 1810 to defend Russian national interests in a Europe dominated by Napoleonic France. These new materials must, however, be studied together with related ones contained in Volume VI, for Russia's efforts of 1809 and 1810 to prepare for possible French invasion by settling accounts with existing enemies and finding new friends and allies continued into 1810 and 1812 (the period covered by Volume VI). New materials concerning economic policy debates are especially interesting. It would seem that fiscal motives were probably more important than political ones in the decision to issue the tariff decree of December 31, 1810.

That the editors of Volume V wanted to present early nineteenth-century Russian foreign policy in a favorable light is unmistakable. Russian acquisition of border areas now in the Soviet Union is clearly considered to have been legitimate in contrast to the allegedly aggressive and annexationist policies of other European states. Reference is even made to the "aggressive plans and pretensions of Persia to Georgia and the Azerbaidzhan khanates in Transcaucasia." References to documents concerning Russian relations with Serbia are listed under the heading "Russo-Serbian relations, support by Russia of the national-liberation movement of the Serbian people." And it is suggested that the published documents may assist "bourgeois" historians in correcting their interpretation of the Russian and European foreign policy of this period.

Since the attitudes, opinions, and values of historians unavoidably influence their interpretation and judgment of what is germane to and important for the study of history, it would seem legitimate to ask to what extent the Marxist and patriotic Russian preconceptions of the Soviet editors have influenced their selection of documents for this collection. Have they, either consciously or unconsciously, left out of the collection those materials that appear to be incompatible with current Soviet interpretations of Russian history? Non-Soviet historians will only be able to give a firm, negative answer to his question if they are given access to dusty, old tsarist Foreign Ministry archives.

University of Illinois, Chicago

EDWARD C. THADEN

ARAKCHEEV, GRAND VIZIER OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Michael Jenkins*. (New York: Dial Press. 1969. Pp. 317. \$5.95.)

This light and unsubstantial biography of one of the most important, disliked, and unknown Russian leaders of the first third of the nineteenth century is the work of a young man who joined the British Foreign Service after receiving an honors degree in history from Cambridge University. Assigned to the British consulate in Moscow as his second post and with substantial free time on his hands, he chose, like Franco Venturi and other diplomats assigned to the Soviet Union, to spend much of his spare time in "Reading Room No. 1" of the Lenin Library.

Arakcheev is the result of eighteen months of such work, supplemented by further research in the British Museum. Mr. Jenkins was not able to obtain access to the archival material in Leningrad or in Moscow; nor was his search for data in published sources imaginative or complete. His bibliography and his footnotes are not professionally designed, and the volume lacks a clearly designed goal, so that the book as a whole is not especially useful for either scholar or student. Nevertheless, it does provide a reasonably clear and accurate biography of Arakcheev, as well as a brief summary of his qualities and career as an administrator, especially as supreme adviser to Alexander I during the last half of his reign and as founder and director of the famous sys-

tem of military colonies. None of the critical questions are defined or faced clearly, however, so the volume is shallow, and the reader is not assisted toward an understanding of either the man or his age.

In writing this volume, Jenkins clearly learned much about Russia and the Soviet Union and about the problems the Russians have faced and are facing in modernizing their great country. Neither the military colonies nor the Arakcheevs have disappeared from Russia. This volume, alas, does not help to explain why.

Indiana University

ROBERT F. BYRNES

THE THIRD DEPARTMENT: THE ESTABLISHMENT AND PRACTICES OF THE POLITICAL POLICE IN THE RUSSIA OF NICHOLAS I. By P. S. Squire. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 272. \$11.50.)

THE aim of this book is to examine secret political vigilance and control in Russia with particular emphasis upon the reign of Nicholas I. Basically the political police institution was no novelty in Muscovite or Imperial Russia; it varied in one form or another in organization, passed through seasonal thaws and freezes, imitated kindred Austrian and French agencies, and learned well its lessons from such master police chiefs as Joseph Fouché. In a narrower sense Nicholas I was also able to derive lessons from Russia's own experience, from the *Oprichnina* of the days of Ivan IV established in 1565, from the "Office of Secret Affairs" set up during the middle of the seventeenth century, and from the legacy of the "Chancellories for Secret Investigations" of the following century.

P. S. Squire, lecturer in Russian in the University of Cambridge and Fellow of Churchill College, is not the first to undertake research in this field. N. Varadniov, S. Adrianov, and M. Lemke have done some pioneering work in the history of the political police of the time of Nicholas I. The court historian and hagiographer, N. K. Schilder, dealt to some extent with the subject, as did Soviet writers such as I. M. Trotsky and others who contributed to different periodicals on different occasions, notably in the *Krasnyi arkhiv*. In the West, Karl Stählin in Germany and S. Monas in the United States published, in 1933 and 1961 respectively, their versions of the "Third Section." In all frankness it must be said that none of the studies mentioned, whether monographic or fragmentary materials of the pre- and postrevolutionary periodicals, can be compared with this one by Squire. It is a definitive work that will not be superseded for some time.

Aside from the excellent utilization of former publications, Squire has delved much more deeply into the entire subject. He has minutely examined all available archival sources, has ably traced the historical background of Russia's political police institutions, and has finally arrived at a most sound interpretive study of the "Chancellories," the "Third Department," and the formation of the Corps of Gendarmes and its leading personalities. He has analyzed the organization, the operations of the intelligence establishment, its supralegal status, provincial ramifications, surveillance of subversive elements, real or imaginary, at home and abroad, as well as foreigners who resided or traveled in Russia. This study is accompanied by a superb bibliography and a useful appendix that cite documentary materials of special importance. The scholarship of this monograph is irreproachable; the style, flawless and lucid. Altogether it is an excellent work to be welcomed by students of Russian history. The price of the book is the only disturbing factor, but for this the author can hardly be reproached.

Stanford University

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

THE RUSSIAN LANDED GENTRY AND THE PEASANT EMANCIPATION
OF 1861. By *Terence Emmons*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp.
xi, 483. \$13.50.)

IN the words of the author, this book "is neither an economic history of the emancipation, nor a study of state policy, politics or public opinion. It is, rather, a mixture of all these—with emphasis on the gentry—which, if it had to be labelled, might be called 'a social history of the emancipation.'" This vast program is introduced with a sketch of the economic situation and political attitudes of the serf-owning Russian *dvoriane* over the decades immediately prior to 1861. Following a chronological format, the discussion moves from the gentry's first attempts to formulate a united position and tactic regarding the emancipation of their labor force, through the open conflict of interests between representatives of the provincial committees and members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, to the immediate reaction of the provincial landholders to the promulgation of the edict of February 19, 1861. The mammoth heritage of five generations of Russian and Soviet scholarship is utilized throughout, frequent contradictions in evidence are resolved by recourse to archival sources, and the results are presented in a clear and readable narrative.

Of particular merit are the lengthy sections devoted to the volatile nobility of Tver Province. Working with papers of the provincial committee, Emmons documents the steps by which suspicion of the ministries turned to distrust and outright opposition. The original core of the author's doctoral dissertation, these chapters surpass everything else available on the subject and provide a valuable insight into the behavior of a major group of provincial activists and of their outspoken leader, A. M. Unkovskii.

Many details of the emancipation process are clarified, but the over-all interpretation of the period presented in this volume differs little from the traditional schema worked out a half century ago by Ivaniukov, Kornilov, and Dzhanshiev. At the heart of this conception is the dichotomy of gentry "liberals" and "conservatives" that has been rejected by most modern specialists, including the author's mentor, P. A. Zaionchkovskii. Assuming that the position of the opponents of emancipation is "relatively easy to understand," the author places the primary emphasis on the abolitionists, who everywhere except in Tver constituted a minority among the landed serf-owning class. This minority is referred to throughout as simply "the gentry."

Provincial leaders of both categories are juxtaposed with a government pictured as monolithic and intent upon bureaucratizing all reform procedures. Little is said of the serious policy differences that spurred dissension among the ministries and even within the pivotal Ministry of Internal Affairs. Those officials who favored reform but sought to achieve it by administrative fiat are labeled bureaucrats and conservatives, in spite of the fact that, if the serf question had been left to be resolved by the majority of propertied Russians, the reform would have been emasculated even more completely than it was. Here, as elsewhere, the analysis might have been more penetrating had the notions of "the function and structure of political systems" been rigorously applied and not merely mentioned.

Tied to an oversimplified conception of the basic nature of the reform process, this work falls short of being the social history of the emancipation announced in the preface. Rather, it is a serious and well-written study of those gentry from Tver and else-

where whose abolitionism led them to advocate general institutional change during the era of the "Great Reforms."

Princeton University

S. FREDERICK STARR

BOLSHEVIK IDEOLOGY AND THE ETHICS OF SOVIET LABOR. 1917-1920: THE FORMATIVE YEARS. By *Frederick I. Kaplan*. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1968. Pp. ix, 521. \$10.00.)

THIS book covers more and less than the title promises. It is primarily a history and interpretation of how the Bolsheviks first cooperated with the Russian workers and supported workers' control as an instrument for the overthrow of the provisional government, and, after assuming power themselves, succeeded in imposing on the working class a role and function differing greatly from the ideas of the latter about workers' control. That part of the story is told in detail, on the basis of considerable research, and it is the main contribution of the book. Much more than just Bolshevik-worker relations is covered, and actions of the Mensheviks and Anarchists are treated as well. The "Bolshevik ideology" and "the ethics of Soviet labor" of the title are mainly represented by the first and last chapters. In my opinion these are less successful and but slightly related or contributory to the main part of the book.

The question of workers' control in a socialist society has acquired a special contemporary interest because of its connection with economic reforms in the Communist world. If we omit the special case of Yugoslavia, the reformers have tried to avoid consideration of an enhanced power role for the workers as a class, but the Czech case suggests that workers still have such aspirations which must be dealt with in the dynamics of reform. One suspects that the choice of doing so repressively or constructively has important consequences. This early history of party-worker relations stimulates one's thinking about the conflict between party and worker viewpoints and how various mechanisms and tactics might be involved in restoring to the workers a say in the process. The rationale of the party's distrust of the workers emerges clearly enough here, but what kind of organizational, ethical, and political ideas the Russian workers had, and their ability and inclinations to operate as a political force, is less clear. Two interesting aspects that have contemporary implications, however, are the crucial importance of the workers' militia when it was based on enterprises and the apparent ability of the workers' committees to come to terms and work in co-operation with the capitalist managements, the analogue for which today is the bureaucratic-managerial elite.

Indiana University

ROBERT CAMPBELL

SOVIET NAVAL STRATEGY: FIFTY YEARS OF THEORY AND PRACTICE. By *Robert Waring Herrick*. (Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute. 1968. Pp. xxxiv, 197. \$9.00.)

THE Soviet naval ensign is becoming visible far from the traditional waters of the Baltic and the Black Seas. For more than five months in 1967 a self-contained force of Russian submarines and support ships is known to have operated in the Atlantic, six thousand miles from home ports. Soviet warships regularly shadow American task forces throughout the world, and they have shown the flag from India to Algeria. Significantly, the Russians have upset the strategic equation in the Mediterranean by forming a special fleet including contingents of naval infantry and a helicopter carrier that can

fire missiles. West of client Syria and Egypt, the Russians display professional interest in bases toward Gibraltar, most particularly Mers-el-Kebir. The Russians may also want to establish a naval presence in the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, and West Africa.

Paralleling the new Soviet naval interests is the build-up of a powerful surface and underwater capability that encompasses the largest missile and attack submarine force in the world. Commander Robert Herrick insists, however, that only the gullible and the Mahan-oriented would conclude that Soviet naval power is primarily designed to undertake the strategic offensive. It should always be remembered, argues Herrick, "how inescapably and completely the Soviet Navy is committed to a largely deterrent and defensive posture and how very limited are its actual offensive capabilities." Although such findings will confound many, the author's credentials are not in doubt. An Annapolis graduate, he developed skills in intelligence and in the Russian language during twenty years of relevant Navy service. *Soviet Naval Strategy* is the product of doctoral research conducted at Columbia University. Although assiduous use has been made of Russian-language materials as well as of American and German archival documentation, painful research gaps remain, such as the journal *Morskoi Sbornik*, which is currently inaccessible for the complicated period between 1947 and 1961. To his credit, Herrick has been in touch with experts such as Erickson, Garthoff, and former Soviet naval officers living in exile.

The result is a controversial but careful survey of the vicissitudes and constants affecting Soviet naval policy during times of peace, war, and quasi war. For another viewpoint, the reader might consult "The Changing Strategic Naval Balance: USSR *vs.* USA," an unclassified report issued by the House Committee on Armed Services in December 1968. Admiral Felt's experts seem to have had Herrick in mind when they contradicted "those who persist in seeing Soviet naval forces as primarily defensive and deterrent in concept." Whatever the disagreements, however, even critics cannot afford to ignore Herrick's pathbreaking contribution to the study of Soviet naval strategy in historical perspective.

San Diego State College

ALVIN D. COOX

THE SOVIET ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY, 1927-1932. By Loren R. Graham. [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 255. \$6.50.)

AMONG the hundreds of books published annually about assorted aspects of Soviet development, only a few endure the test of time. It might well seem that Mr. Graham's concern with a short span of developments at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR on the eve of Soviet industrialization would be of passing historical consequence, but this is far from true. Graham's book provides lasting insight not only for historians of Russian and Soviet society but also for scholars of the history of science everywhere.

No other academy, university, or research foundation in any nation has dominated the field of scientific research to the degree that the Academy of Sciences has over the last four decades. Graham's book examines its origins during the First Five-Year Plan (1929-1932). To accomplish this he presents a succinct historical survey of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. He reveals a heritage characterized on the one hand by almost anarchic pluralism and on the other by the emergence of hierarchies of the theoretical schools in specific fields of science. It is a history of the evolution of scientific research for the sake of science as judged by scientists themselves.

Graham's attention turns, in passing, to the October Revolution of 1917 and the decade of political turmoil thereafter. Both, he shows, left some scars on the life of the scientific community, but without having altered its organizational structure. He describes the next phase (1926-1929) of the struggle for control as an attempt at "the admission to membership of communists or candidates backed by the Communist Party" based on inherited parliamentary and electoral rules of the academy. This attempt failed, through reorganization and seizure of the academy's structure and through the purge of individual scientists, but Communist party control was ultimately achieved by 1932.

This is perhaps the most fascinating period in the history of Russian science. It is scientific research for the sake of the state as judged by political authority. Graham's study proceeds to explore these developments, using published Soviet sources available in the West and documentary materials in the archives of the Academy of Sciences in Moscow. He demonstrates that in these few years the interaction between science and political power assumed a new dimension in Soviet society. The institutional reform and the new directions solidified the academy's role in establishing a single planning center for scientific research in the Soviet Union. Objectivity vanished, and political ideology emerged. In this period, as well as throughout the book, Graham thus explores the major dilemma of Soviet science: can science indeed be planned, and, if so, by what criteria could centralized governmental decisions help or hinder the development of scientific research.

Graham's thesis is that "the planning of science is truly impossible: planning for science over short periods of time is a viable approach, but after an appreciable length of time the unpredictability of the actual progress of science will upset and transform these plans." By capturing the leadership of the academy during the Stalin era, the Soviet regime tried to enforce "the planning of science," but succeeded only in some phases of "planning for science." The bureaucratic interference in scientific research and the centralization of decisions for the direction of science that emerged during this period are the concomitants of the establishment of the over-all national economic plans. However, the lavish logistic support for scientific research often conflicted with the independent creativity of individual scientists.

The central theme of Graham's book is, therefore, the study of universal conflict between the independent creativity of individual scientists and their dependence upon institutionalized bureaucratic planning organizations and resource funding provided by the government. The unique attributes of the Soviet political setting and the recourse to terror during the Stalin era in an attempt to resolve this conflict created not a lasting solution but a specter that still haunts the Soviet research and development establishment.

Indiana University

NICHOLAS DEWITT

Near East

ISLAMIC POLITICAL THOUGHT: THE BASIC CONCEPTS. By *W. Montgomery Watt*. [Islamic Surveys, Number 6.] (Edinburgh: University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1968. Pp. xi, 186. \$4.75.)

THIS study attempts to analyze both the genesis of Islamic political ideas and their role in the historical process from the seventh until the thirteenth century A.D. The author has investigated these ideas as they were practiced rather than as they were expounded

by Muslim political theorists, and his interpretation of Islamic history in its classical period follows along sociological lines, while at the same time particular attention is paid to the political aspects.

Watt shows that, while the Islamic state in its first 130 years was based on pre-Islamic Arab tribal political and social concepts, it later developed Persian, meaning Old Mesopotamian and not Roman-Byzantine, political traditions. The position of Mohammed, for instance, is to be appreciated within its Arab context: while his authority as a "messenger" within the community appears to have been limited, as a military leader he could enjoy virtual autocracy in the external affairs of the state. The author similarly reviews the early caliphate, the organization of the Umayyad Empire, and the different views held on conditions of membership in the charismatic, yet "natural" community.

What is most interesting is the way in which Watt, in synthesizing previous researches, connects Islam's emphasis on communal solidarity (which he sees as the chief contribution of this religion in the political sphere) with the creation of one homogeneous ideational system or world view. This Islamic system replaced the older Hellenistic and Christian systems, and only those elements of them that could serve to elaborate Koranic ideas and typical Islamic beliefs were borrowed. This ideological uniformity was achieved by the ulama ("jurists"), who established the basic forms around the end of the ninth century A.D. The relationships between the religious institution and the rulers, particularly the achievements and failures of the ulema, receive attention here. Well-known Islamic historical and theological discussions are shown to have been the intellectual form of a political struggle, under an autocratic government, between what Watt somewhat schematically calls the autocratic and the constitutionalist blocs. Once the ideational system was established, the values of which the community considered itself to be the bearer were guaranteed. There came into being a fundamental solidarity, which remained independent of possible unity or disunity in the actual political system. Throughout the history of Islam traditional political concepts have remained alive as ideals, and they are practiced wherever possible. The author stresses the need for further research in such areas as the relationship of Islamic political theory to historical realities. A concluding epilogue deals with the attitude of Islam toward Occidental political ideas and with the possibility of adapting Islamic political thought to present-day sociopolitical realities. An elaborate index closes this highly valuable study.

University of California, Los Angeles

JACQUES WAARDENBURG

BEGINNINGS OF MODERNIZATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST: THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. Edited by *William R. Polk* and *Richard L. Chambers*. [Publications of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, the University of Chicago, Number 1.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. x, 427. \$12.00.)

THIS volume contains twenty papers prepared for the 1966 Conference of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, along with an introduction by the editors that gives the highlights of the conference discussions. The papers, by a distinguished assembly of authorities, add much to our knowledge of what went on in parts of the nineteenth-century Middle East and why.

Although the title places the beginnings of "modernization" in the nineteenth century, the editors state that processes of change "can already be witnessed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." Among the contributors only Kemal Karpat and Albert Hourani bring out clearly the importance of developments before 1798. Refer-

ring to Koçi Bey's *Risale* of 1630, Karpat says that it "openly pointed out the changes in the [Ottoman] empire's social structure and implicitly called for remedial action. This in fact is the essence of change or modernization."

The papers are arranged topically: notables and bureaucrats, ideological change, social movements, foreign intervention, education, and problems in modernization. In this review they are rearranged on geographical and chronological bases. Seven deal with the Ottoman Empire. Karpat describes the revolution in the control of land use and tax collecting whereby a new class of notables replaced the timariots and reshaped Ottoman society. Hourani has a lucid essay on the role in urban politics of notables—ulama, garrison commanders, leading families, and so forth—in the Arab provinces (ca. 1760–1860). Stanford Shaw examines certain aims and achievements of nineteenth-century Ottoman reformers. Although assigned to consider the impact of nationalism on the Turkish elite, Ercümend Kuran gives little more than a summary of Turkish writings on Turkish nationalism and Pan-Turkism (ca. 1863–1907). Allan Cunningham's analysis of Stratford Canning's relations with the Ottoman reformers of his time bears on the connection between modernization and Westernization. Roderic Davison traces the evolution of electoral representation from 1839 to 1878. The sketch of the Ottoman School in Paris (ca. 1857–1874) by Richard Chambers needs, as the author himself says, to be filled out by further research.

Seven papers deal with Egypt. The feeble attempts, from 1798 to 1879, to modify the Azhar University's old system are shown by Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot. Charles Issawi contrasts the substantial economic development of the country during the period 1800–1914 with its lagging social development. Nadia Torniche suggests that in the first half of the century the way to a new status for women may have opened slightly. Gabriel Baer studies urbanization from 1820 to 1907. Jacob Landau records the drastic changes in Jewish schools between 1840 and 1905, while Fritz Steppat takes up reforms in the national schools implemented or proposed between 1847 and 1882. Jacques Berque provides an account of the establishment of the colonial economy from 1876 to 1910.

Of the four papers on Syria, one by Dominique Chevallier delineates the effects of Western economic intrusion (ca. 1825–1857), while that by Moshe Ma'oz concentrates mainly on Ottoman provincial administration during the period 1839–1861. Kamal Salibi digests a report by a contemporary Muslim notable on the Damascus troubles of 1860, and Shimon Shamir assesses the reforming efforts of Midhat Pasha as governor from 1878 to 1880.

The only paper on Iran, by Hafez Farman Farmayan, roams rather cursorily through the nineteenth century. P. M. Holt writes on the Sudan during the years 1820–1898, telling how the Mahdists had to retain major innovations introduced before their rule.

This geographical rearrangement makes the imbalance of the treatment apparent. Such essential parts of the Middle East as Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula, moreover, receive notice in only one paper, that by Hourani. The misleading term "Middle East" in the title accompanies the confusing term "modernization." Karpat's emphasis on change from within is far removed from Farman Farmayan's assertion that "in the minds of Persian reformers . . . modernization and Westernization have become two identical concepts." Davison is right: "Modernization is a term which has no agreed meaning."

Hoover Institution

GEORGE RENTZ

MIDDLE EAST POLITICS: THE MILITARY DIMENSION. By J. C. Hurewitz. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1969. Pp. xviii, 553. \$11.50.)

THIS is a book of somewhat unorthodox proportions. Four-fifths of its text ostensibly is devoted to the rise and influence of the military class in the nations of the Middle East and North Africa. Although the subject matter is logically categorized—"military republics," "military-civilian coalitions," "traditional monarchies," and so forth—the volume is, nevertheless, not quite the "broad-gauged analysis" the author had intended; rather, it is more a compressed, narrative survey of the intertwined military-political history of eighteen nations. It is undoubtedly a useful survey, complete with excellent graphs, tables, and annotated bibliographical notes. Indeed, in the profusion of recent volumes on the contemporary Middle East, the military factor has rarely been given its proper centrality in accounts of political and economic developments. In no other non-industrial region of the world, Professor Hurewitz reminds us, have the arsenals and military budgets, particularly in the zone of Arab-Israeli hostility, been as catastrophically engorged; nor, elsewhere, has the military elite played as ostentatiously self-anointed a role as the vehicle for social progress.

Yet, in what becomes essentially a general nation-by-nation history, Hurewitz is obliged to abbreviate his description of the military factor until it tends to lose the "dimension" he has sought for it. Specifically, little space is devoted to the military ideal in classical Arab political ideology, to the subtle and complex process by which socialism became virtually synonymous with Pan-Arabism in the mentality of the Nasserist officer caste, or to the army as an educational force among the heterogeneity of Israel's ethnic cultures. Perhaps such lacunae are inevitable in any kind of broad-gauge assignment carried out for the Council on Foreign Relations, a task for which one senses a certain waning of the author's enthusiasm near the end of his lengthy survey. By contrast, however, it is noteworthy that Hurewitz regains his customary balance and style in a brief terminal essay of eighty pages, entitled "Regional Consequences." Evaluating the role of armies as agencies of social change, he brilliantly and conclusively demolishes the widely held assumption that social reform in the Middle East has been the supreme accomplishment, and thereby the redeeming virtue, of a dynamic, "revolutionary" officer class. The opposite is true. On the one hand, military juntas have all but paralyzed political and economic growth in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. On the other hand, such "nonrevolutionary" Muslim states as Iran, Tunisia, Morocco, and Kuwait, together with the "garrison democracy" of Israel, have witnessed steady and occasionally spectacular progress in all echelons of society, and this has been accomplished under civilian government. For the entire Middle East, in any case, the Arab-Israeli arms race, nurtured in large measure by the cold war, has been an unalleviated curse, most especially for those nations, like Egypt, whose governments have justified militarism as the indispensable infrastructure for modernization and progress.

George Washington University

HOWARD M. SACHAR

THE PRECARIOUS REPUBLIC: POLITICAL MODERNIZATION IN LEBANON. By Michael C. Hudson. [Written under the auspices of the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.] (New York: Random House. 1968. Pp. xvi, 364. \$8.95.)

OF all the Arab countries, Lebanon has been progressing steadily without the need for radical or revolutionary changes, despite several abortive *coups* to overthrow its existing

parliamentary system. Jordan also possesses a parliamentary system, but this system can hardly be called democratic since it depends on the loyalty of the army to the monarchy rather than on popular support. Most writers have maintained that Lebanon's parliamentary system has survived largely because of its relatively more advanced economic and cultural development. Professor Hudson, in assuming that political modernization is the basis for a stable and progressive political system, examines in detail the structure and operation of Lebanon's political system and concludes that political modernization neither proceeds uniformly nor keeps pace with changing political forces. Hence Lebanon's existing political system is precarious and in danger of collapse unless political modernization can be accelerated.

It is widely held that the political systems of Egypt, Syria, and Iraq were replaced by military regimes because the political modernization necessary to maintain a democratic system had not been achieved. I do not find this argument fully convincing. An examination of how the military *coups* took place in Arab countries shows clearly that a small group of young army officers, indoctrinated with nationalism, moved to seize power by force, regardless of whether the country had reached a high stage of economic or social development. These military *coups* took place in relatively more advanced rather than backward countries. The rise of dictatorships, military or otherwise, in Central and Eastern Europe before and after World War II demonstrates that conditions other than merely social or economic needs breed dictatorships.

While economic and social progress is absolutely necessary for the emergence of democratic institutions, other prerequisites help these institutions to take root. Lebanon's greatest asset, which has militated against dictatorship, military or otherwise, lies in its social structure. The confessional division of Lebanese society has been deplored by many Arab thinkers, including Hudson, for being incompatible with national unity and social cohesion, but it has prevented any one confessional community from ruling over the others. The confessional structure provides a system of checks and balances in which no dictatorship deriving its support from one community can survive for long. Perhaps no form of government other than parliamentary democracy, in which all the confessional communities would be proportionately represented, would fit Lebanese society. It must be admitted, however, that the confessional division of society is a negative factor providing a check against dictatorship, rather than a positive factor promoting a truly democratic system. Democracy, like other social institutions, must develop by a slow, steady process. Lebanon is evolving its own form of democracy to fit its ever-changing social structure; what emerges should be assessed not only in terms of political modernization but also in terms of its flexibility in adjusting to existing social conditions and its relative stability within an Arab environment undergoing revolutionary changes.

Hudson's first three chapters are devoted to terminology and to the methodological approach now fashionable among experts in the behavioral sciences, but they do little, however, to deepen our understanding of the country. The most interesting parts of the book are those devoted to a study of political parties and to the structure and working of the political system. Here Hudson displays his familiarity with recent political developments in the country. Although he used the local press and some Arabic sources, he depended more heavily on material published in the West. His journalistic system of transliteration is neither uniform nor always correct; it seems to follow the various sources used, especially the spelling of names as they appeared in the French press. Hudson could have avoided many errors had he followed a system that was more consistent and acceptable to scholars, such as that of the Library of Congress or the *Ency-*

clopedia of Islam. This is a very serious work, however, and parts of it deserve careful study; for this the author is to be congratulated.

*School of Advanced International Studies,
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MAJID KHADDURI

Africa

LES ALGÉRIENS MUSULMANS ET LA FRANCE (1871-1919). In two volumes.

By *Charles-Robert Ageron*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Paris-Sorbonne. Series "Recherches," Numbers 44 and 45.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1968. Pp. 608, v; 612-1296, x. 100 fr. the set.)

THIS detailed, comprehensive study will offer no consolation to those students of imperialism who would search for significant redemptive characteristics in French colonial policy in Algeria between 1871 and 1919. Professor Ageron is as careful and judicious in his assessment as he is diligent and exhaustive in his use of available documentation, but he does not shy away from the conclusion that the policy of assimilation, which theoretically made of Algeria "une petite République française," was a major device employed by the *colons* to assure their own political ascendancy and domination. In the name of assimilation Muslim institutions were destroyed, justice was distorted, taxes were imposed, and military service was suggested, with no corresponding benefits to the affected population. In brief, what appeared benign to many in France was malignant to most in Algeria.

While the major theme of the two volumes is the *politique indigène*, Ageron devotes equal attention to the effects of this policy in all compartments of Algerian life and to the trans-Mediterranean debate that engaged Frenchmen in Algeria and the metropole. Much of the history recounted is now familiar to even the most casual student of Algeria, but Ageron's detail allows for a fuller appreciation of the role played by the few heroes—Cambon and Jonnart, particularly—and of the improvised, inconsiderate, and incomplete nature of much colonial legislation. Yet it is the retrograde and noxious effect that the French colonial endeavor had on the Algerian economy in the nineteenth century that will arrest the reader's attention. Ageron has done his research very well here, so that statistics and conclusions are most compelling. Perhaps most fascinating of all is the well-presented history of the French-inspired Kabyle or Berber myth, an interesting example of historical romanticism behind which lay the phrase and intent of *divide et impera*: Berber lauded; Arab condemned.

These two volumes will not hold the reader by their style; nor will they arouse interest because of unusual or exciting thematic organization. Ageron's study is definitive because it is extensive, not because it is the latest or last word in narration or interpretation. At the risk of employing a clause that is trite, I would say that his research speaks for itself. But it speaks with its own force.

To the individual seeking information and to the individual searching for themes and topics to explore in recent Algerian history, this work will render great service. To all students of imperialism and culture contact, Ageron has offered a lengthy and intelligent reminder that the theories and concepts so glibly articulated about these subjects ought to be rigorously tested by the facts, frequently as harsh as they are hard, derived from the actual colonial situation.

Grinnell College

RAYMOND F. BETTS

THE QUEST FOR TIMBUCTOO. By *Brian Gardner*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1968. Pp. 212. \$5.75.)

From 1795 to 1855 European explorers attempted to find a route to what they believed were the riches of Timbuktu. The American sailor Benjamin Rose (alias Robert Adams) had visited Timbuktu as an Arab slave and had described it as a city of mud and wattle, a mean backwater. Europeans, including the British government, preferred, however, to believe the legend that described it as a sort of El Dorado with gold-sheathed roofs, a far-flung commerce, and a wise and sophisticated middle class. In their efforts to establish contact with Timbuktu, the British actually sponsored a series of expeditions led by brave and misinformed men who set out, without any comprehension of the hazards involved, to cross the jungles and deserts of Africa. The works of the survivors, Barth and Caillie, have recently been republished. The value of the present work is that the author unifies the material on North African exploration and offers some hitherto neglected sources from the British Museum and the Public Record Office, including letters written in the field by the explorers. Some of these letters were not discovered until the present decade. For those interested in the slave trade, nineteenth-century North Africa, and exploration, this book will prove interesting and absorbing.

While Gardner provides bibliography, map, index, and chronology, he consistently fails to pinpoint the sources for his lengthy quotations. This sacrifice of "scholarly paraphernalia" for easier reading would not appear to be necessary in so compelling a narrative, and it markedly diminishes the book's value for students.

Mansfield State College

ROBERT B. REVERE

LEADERSHIP IN EASTERN AFRICA: SIX POLITICAL BIOGRAPHIES. Edited by *Norman R. Bennett*. [Boston University African Research Studies, Number 9.] ([Brookline, Mass.:] Boston University Press. 1968. Pp. xxvii, 260. \$7.75.)

"Eastern Africa," as a geographical and historical category, has not had much currency in the last seventy years. From the middle to the late nineteenth century, however, it commonly represented a strategic and commercial zone of increasing political significance, which stretched from the Red Sea to the frontiers of South Africa. The era of colonialism brought a redefinition of this part of the continent in terms of territories and regions such as the Horn or East Africa. Norman Bennett has edited a volume dealing with men of the later nineteenth century who experienced the mounting pressures of European interest and intervention in Eastern Africa. As leaders, they enjoyed different kinds and degrees of authority, derived in some cases from religious and commercial positions and in others from inherited political office.

The individual contributors vary in their understanding of what biography may entail. For richness and general presentation, Robert Hess excels in his treatment of Mohammed ibn-Abdullah Hasan, the Somali religious and political leader dubbed by his British foes "the Mad Mullah." To be sure, Hess had first-rate material to work with; his subject will attract anyone interested in Mahdism, comparative colonialism, or the history of Somalia and its relations with Ethiopia. The account does justice to the bearing of culture upon politics. Harold Marcus has not used as well his similar opportunity in writing about Menilek II of Ethiopia, who is regarded in too exclusively diplomatic terms.

T. H. R. Cashmore uses a more personal focus in his treatment of Mbaruk bin Rashid bin Salim el Mazrui, a leader of the famous Mombasa family, whom he regards as

a "professional rebel." Those familiar with the volatile nature of politics on the East African coast over the centuries might wish to place Mbaruk in a wider perspective, but they will nevertheless find this narrative full of fresh detail. Also on the Swahili theme, Bennett has added another piece to the growing picture of "Arab" influence in the heart of the continent, this time at Ujiji, the jumping-off-place for the ivory and slave trade in the Congo. Mwinyi Kheri, leader of the Muslim community at Ujiji until his death in 1885, is portrayed as an astute diplomat in balancing relations with African rulers of the area. The tenuousness of control from Zanzibar is underlined.

The two remaining biographies—of the Gaza chief Gungunhana, by Douglas Wheeler, and of the Ndebele chief Lobengula, by Per Hassing—treat the familiar story of Nguni paramounts who tried to play off encroaching Europeans.

In spite of its unevenness, this volume makes valuable individual contributions and suggests that biography may be a fruitful line to follow at this stage in African history.

Columbia University

MARCIA WRIGHT

THE RHODESIA THAT WAS MY LIFE. By *Sir Robert C. Tredgold*. (New York: Humanities Press. 1968. Pp. 271. \$6.75.)

Sir Robert Tredgold comes from a great missionary family, the Moffats, and his father was an Attorney General in Rhodesia. In his own career, he has been lawyer, politician, judge, Chief Justice, and frequently acting governor-general, playing an important part in the history of Southern Rhodesia and in the ill-fated Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. His career illustrates once more how successfully British legal institutions have been transplanted to Southern Africa: judges, English and Afrikaner, have frequently resisted the pressures of racial politics. In 1960 Tredgold resigned as Chief Justice in protest against draft legislation, hoping to mobilize opinion against it.

This book gives some clues as to why he failed: it is an allusive account of some aspects of his career and not, unfortunately, an accurate and dated account of what Tredgold thought, said, and did. The title is correct in one sense: the author is casting a backward look to what he believes was a saner time of deferent Africans, a powerful Smuts in South Africa, and a Cape liberal tradition, vigorous beyond South Africa's borders. Consequently, he seems to have little understanding of Ian Smith and his followers, or of African nationalists. While he attacks Lord Malvern's notorious "horse and rider" analogy, he repeatedly uses another familiar one in defining Africans as children. At one point he implies that they are also exasperating. Of Garfield Todd he writes: "He had for many years been a missionary and his long experience and first-hand knowledge had left his great respect and liking for the Africans unimpaired."

Tredgold shows that on many issues his record is good, especially in attacking the evasions on which the federation was founded in 1953. He quotes from a memorandum of his own at the time: "To leave the most fundamental issues to good sense and good faith is to sow the seeds of endless dissension. . . . To leave [this common purpose] to the vague good will of subsequent generations . . . is out of the question." This was not hindsight but realism. However, the common purpose of which he was writing was what he called a "common native policy," a phrase strongly implying a paternalism inappropriate to the time. There is little reason to believe from this work that, either in 1953 or at any time since, Tredgold made an analysis of the forces

operating in Rhodesia on which a policy acceptable to any of the major protagonists could have been based.

Wesleyan University

JEFFREY BUTLER

Asia and the East

THE CHINESE WORLD ORDER: TRADITIONAL CHINA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS. By *Ta-tuan Ch'en et al.* Edited by *John King Fairbank*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 32.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 416. \$10.00.)

THIS is an arresting book, one that scholarly specialists on China are bound to learn from and one that specialists in many other fields—politics, international relations, social psychology—could study with profit. In the introduction Professor Fairbank lays out fifteen general propositions concerning the Chinese world order, by which he means the body of ideas, policies, and strategies which China used in dealing with neighboring states and peoples. To go to the beginning of what Professor Schwartz in his epilogue calls the “Chinese perception of world order,” we must turn to the first two essays in this volume. In the first of these Professor Lien-sheng Yang explores the classical bases of Chinese thinking about other peoples. Here he quotes and interprets texts that have been used for centuries to justify one policy or another—pacifistic, militaristic, opportunistic—toward foreigners. This is complemented by a splendid review of the so-called “light-rein,” one of the administrative stratagems which the Chinese used to control unruly peoples through their own leaders. In the second of these Professor Gung-wu Wang discusses the origins of Chinese ideas about other peoples in their early experience and finds there the beginnings of the Chinese “myth of superiority,” a myth that many centuries of their early history did much to solidify. He then turns to the myth as it was interpreted by major historians from Han to Sung—men who mapped the policy implications of the myth and perforce adapted it to destructive events such as the loss of China north of the Yangtze to “barbarians,” A.D. 311–589. He finds the full flowering of the myth in Sui and T'ang China when imperial organization and military might gave substance to the Emperor's claim to rule “all under Heaven.” The myth was undercut first by the military weakness of the Sung and then by the Mongol conquest of all China. But it came back in force under the Ming (1368–1644) when Chinese armies again dominated, and people reasoned that imperial virtue (*te*), if it is to prevail, must be supported by material power (*wei*). The failure of the Sung, they argued, was not failure of imperial virtue but failure to match virtue with might. This essay, which also deals brilliantly with early Ming relations with Southeast Asia, is a model of concision and clarity. In discussing how the central myth came into being and how it changed through seventeen centuries, Wang provides a cluster of themes that one can follow through the rest of the volume.

Professor Mancall follows with a splendid essay which takes the myth of centrality and superiority and traces its mutations and policy applications from the Ming to modern times when the Manchu “barbarians” ruled “all under Heaven.” The great change was the introduction of policies and of governmental machinery that handled foreign peoples in two groups: those somewhat akin to the Manchus in background and way of life, and those traditionally subject to the Chinese. The rest of the papers are, for the most part, case studies of the elaborate institutions associated with the

myth of superiority, particularly the tribute system, and they deal with a variety of different peoples who lived under the system.

The most docile of the tributary states was Korea, and Professor Hae-jong Chung gives us a fascinating and detailed study of how tribute missions were conducted under the last dynasty, the frequency of different types of missions and estimates of their cost to both parties. Two lively papers discuss the Liu-ch'iu Islands. Professor Sakai shows how they managed to be both tributaries of China and absolutely subordinate to the powerful Satsuma—fief holders under the Tokugawa. Professor Ta-tuan Ch'en describes the special embassies of investiture which China sent to legitimize the Liu-ch'iu kings. He provides a very solid account and some very funny stories of the Chinese scholar-official envoys, their neurotic dread of the sea voyage, their elaborate preparations against shipwreck, and their precautions against foreign burial—carrying coffins for the two chiefs of the mission aboard the ship!

The other case studies deal with the two vast areas that were of the greatest concern to China in asserting its cultural superiority and in finding workable policies. One is Mongolia and Central Asia; the other is island and mainland Southeast Asia. Professor Chūsei Suzuki rightly remarks that Chinese culture was most easily adapted to countries with stable populations and an agrarian base, such as Korea and Vietnam, and it was in such countries that China's superiority was most readily acknowledged. It was in the long crescent, from Manchuria to Central Asia to Tibet, where the Chinese societal model was inapplicable, and where the herdsmen, food gatherers, oasis tradesmen were most resistant to Chinese imperial virtue and Chinese power. This was the source of a perennial threat to Chinese security. Many of the papers shed light on the history of China's effort to deal with these people. Professor Fletcher's chapter "China and Central Asia, 1368–1884," is exclusively focused on the efforts of the last two dynasties. It is particularly illuminating in showing, by the use of Arabic sources, the contrast between the actual dealings of Yung-lo, who reigned from 1403 to 1424, with the heirs of Tamerlane and the bland Chinese recording of them that leaves the myth of superiority unimpaired. The remaining papers provide other case studies of Chinese dealings with foreigners within the framework of this ancient myth and its associated policies: Vietnam, the Dutch traders, the Western Powers under the treaty port system. Professor Farquhar provided a case where this was not a factor, namely, the Manchu dynasty's early policies toward the Mongols.

This is an exciting reconnaissance of a vast field—Chinese foreign relations down to 1850. It offers an abundance of challenging ideas and hypotheses which, hopefully, will stimulate intensive further studies.

Yale University

ARTHUR F. WRIGHT

THE BUDDHIST REVIVAL IN CHINA. By *Holmes Welch*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 33.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. vi, 385. \$11.95.)

THIS volume is the second in a series of three by Holmes Welch dealing with Buddhism in modern China. The first described monastic institutions and the ways in which individual Buddhists practiced their religion in the first half of this century. *The Buddhist Revival in China* similarly focuses on the 1911–1949 period, but it also reaches back to about 1850, and the treatment is more historical than institutional. The third volume is to deal with institutions and history since 1949.

Welch's history of a century of modern Buddhism is not the history of a revival.

He finds the term convenient but inaccurate. Modern Buddhist history has been marked by new trends that "sound like a revival but . . . [had] a different significance." The new trends included the growth of national Buddhist associations, attempts by some of those organizations to function as a Buddhist lobby, efforts to found a world Buddhist organization, the development of new publishing houses and bookshops, wider circulation of Buddhist literature combined with improvements in the education of monks in order to spread the doctrine, and the growth of a broadly based lay movement that drew Buddhism into YMCA-like clubs and activities.

These trends are described in considerable detail and with Welch's very special blend of rigorous scholarship and sprightly style, modesty and venturesomeness, a sobriety that suits the subject and a wry humor that enhances it. The documentation is vast and diverse; interviews are used extensively but cautiously; people and places are brought to life by well-chosen photographs and deft writing; anecdotes and asides illuminate as well as amuse. Appropriately enough for a book on Buddhism, it is satisfying both aesthetically and intellectually. We are two-thirds of the way toward having what is likely to be for a very long time the standard work on modern Chinese Buddhism.

Welch feels that the term "revival" is misleading because it is questionable whether Chinese Buddhism was in decline or decay before 1850 and because what took place after 1850 "was not a restoration of the past but a series of innovations"; these innovations were leading toward "not a growing vitality for Buddhism but its eventual demise as a living religion." The argument is more complex than I can suggest here, but, essentially, it is that Buddhist "modernizers" such as the famous T'ai-hsü were, in order to save Buddhism, destroying it. A prominent thread in this book is the impact of Christianity upon Buddhism; indeed, the idea of a "revival" was bred by missionaries who *thought* Buddhism was decadent except where it resembled Christianity. Welch has touched on many subjects beyond his own, to our great benefit, but it is primarily in its treatment of the interaction between Buddhism and Christianity that the book achieves an even larger purpose than the author intended. Despite his disavowal of any intention to treat intellectual history more than incidentally, he has dealt with some of the major problems discussed by Joseph R. Levenson, Benjamin Schwartz, and other leading scholars in adjacent fields. Students of modern Chinese intellectual history as well as students of Buddhism and comparative religion should not miss this stimulating and enjoyable book.

University of Washington

MICHAEL GASSTER

THE SPIRIT OF CHINESE POLITICS: A PSYCHOCULTURAL STUDY OF THE AUTHORITY CRISIS IN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. By *Lucian W. Pye*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M. I. T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1968. Pp. xxii, 255. \$8.95.)

COMMUNISM IN CHINA: AS REPORTED FROM HANKOW IN 1932. By *O. Edmund Clubb*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 123. \$7.50.)

THE MANDATE OF HEAVEN: RECORD OF A CIVIL WAR. CHINA 1945-49. By *John F. Melby*. ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 313. \$10.00.)

SEVERAL central questions of Chinese revolutionary politics are considered in these three works constructed in 1932, 1945-1949, and 1967, respectively. Lucian Pye is

broadly concerned with discovering “what may be unique and what may be universal in China’s experiences with modernization.” For analytical purposes he identifies “the basic problem of development for the Chinese” as one “of achieving within their social and political life new forms of authority which can both satisfy their need to reassert a historic self-confidence and also provide the basis for reordering their society in modern terms.” Arguing that the Chinese have historically “tended to treat politics as a matter of authority,” he proposes the central hypothesis that “the Confucian tradition, both structurally and ideologically, created forms of authority that gained strength by denying the legitimacy of [various particularist] sentiments of aggression.” Pye sees the “basic dilemma” of all Chinese political systems (imperial, Nationalist, and Communist) as the necessity “to choose between preserving the integrity of the polity [as political system], and hence allowing for an ever-widening gap between it and the public—ideological sentiments to the contrary notwithstanding—or allowing officials to accommodate themselves to local realities, thus compromising the ideals of a fully integrated political system responsive only to the purity of the ideology.” He thus hypothesizes that “the psychological intensity of the Chinese authority crisis has its roots in the fact that the initial and earliest socialization process [that is, within the family] is still dominated by traditional sentiments about authority, order, and the control of emotions. . . .” In this vein, Pye develops a substantial research model, rich in suggestive insights into Chinese political processes over time, offering hypotheses that might in time be validated by empirical research.

Edmund Clubb and John Melby have more modest pretensions. Clubb’s book is the textual reproduction of a confidential political report written when he was an American vice-consul in Hankow in 1932. The report was based on the contemporary Chinese press for the period 1930–1932, and the text retains certain factual errors attributable to the inadequacy of the sources and the sense of immediacy that animated it. Clubb’s effort pioneered in depicting the political relations between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist party, and, therefore, it is a historical source concerning the levels of information available to American officials at that time. His basic insight was sound: he asserted that “the Chinese Left movement, which might have been leavened with the sober judgment of the intelligentsia had it been promised the possibility of liberal political and economic reform within the framework of the existing system of government, has been forced, by the vicious hardships suffered in its position as outlaw, into a bitter rebellion which is sweeping the oppressed—liberal students and all—with a savage hatred of the existing [Kuomintang] regime in China.” Such views were unacceptable to the McCarthyite Rightists, even after they had been validated by events, and they figured prominently in the agitation that eventually forced Clubb into premature retirement and cost the Department of State one of its most dedicated, skilled, and sophisticated servants.

Melby, an American political officer in Chungking and Nanking in 1945–1949, constructed *The Mandate of Heaven* from contemporary diaries that probably reveal more about him and the diplomatic chitchat of his day than they do about the basic processes at work. Yet Melby contributes to a further understanding of the problems confronting American policy as it evolved during the later stages of the Chinese civil war, and as it concerned, in particular, the personal interactions between Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, General George C. Marshall, and Ambassador Leighton Stuart, which added to the ambiguous and confusing outcome.

University of California Study Center, Hong Kong

H. ARTHUR STEINER

A CULTURAL HISTORY OF TIBET. By *David Snellgrove* and *Hugh Richardson*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968. Pp. 291. \$10.00.)

UNTIL recently Tibet was one of the few remaining corners of the planet in which an ancient, religious way of life could survive largely untouched by modern industrial civilization. Now, with the Chinese conquest and occupation, all this is changed. Even if one discounts the atrocity stories, there can be no doubt that the old order of living Buddhas and monkish rule is gone forever and the Tibet that will emerge will be vastly different from what it was before. The exiles can only eat their hearts out in fruitless nostalgia. Of none is this truer than those spiritual exiles, the Western Tibetologists. Two of the most distinguished of these have combined to produce a beautifully illustrated account of Tibetan history from the time when it first emerged as a kingdom, around A.D. 600, to the present.

What we are told is largely religious history: the story of the introduction of Buddhism under the early kings; its spread among the people after the downfall of the kingdom in the ninth century; the parallel, imitative development of the indigenous Bon religion; the rise of the reforming "Yellow Hat" order in the fifteenth century; their conversion of the Mongols; and their achieving of temporal rule over the country with Mongol help. Political history, apart from religious history, is only sketchily dealt with. There is practically no attempt to analyze economic and social factors. Foreign relations are mostly treated in simplistic terms. One gets little inkling of the strategic interests involved in the competition between different powers for control of Tibet at various periods in history. The Chinese, not surprisingly, are generally cast in the role of villains, while the benign character of British penetration into the area is taken for granted.

In spite of such limitations, however, the book is greatly to be welcomed for its generally accurate summary of the main events of Tibet's little-known past, combined with appreciative, often firsthand, accounts of Tibetan life and cultural achievements and its abundant photographs, many by one or the other of the two authors, of art objects and scenes of the country and its people.

University of British Columbia

E. G. PULLEYBLANK

STUDIES IN THE INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF EARLY MODERN JAPAN. By *Harumi Befu et al.* Edited by *John W. Hall* and *Marius B. Jansen*. With an introduction by *Joseph R. Strayer*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968. Pp. x, 396. \$8.50.)

It was a happy decision when Professors John W. Hall and Marius Jansen agreed to bring together their own studies on Tokugawa institutional history. Together with important supporting articles by others, they have placed before us a coherent inventory of the kinds of problems, questions, and materials that have gone into the making of a field. They have also provided a fascinating disclosure of the historical imagination at work, the kind of vision that must inform the organization of a field, the skill and zeal that must always accompany the execution of such a vision.

The majority of the articles—seven by Hall, four by Jansen, two by T. C. Smith, and others by R. Sakai, H. Befu, D. Shively, A. Craig, S. Crawcour, R. P. Dore, and D. Henderson—cover all of the decisive aspects of Tokugawa institutional life, from the organization of the daimyo domains in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to their displacement in the mid-nineteenth century. Of the eleven contributions by Hall and Jansen, five were written for this volume and give the

collection a certain continuity not always apparent in comparable collections. The studies are introduced by Professor Strayer, who attempts to provide a comparative framework for the study of feudal institutions in Europe and Japan. Although Strayer raises some interesting questions concerning the relationship between the feudal experience and the development of early modern institutions, some brilliantly analyzed by Hall in his essay, "Feudalism in Japan, A Reassessment," the various studies are held together less by this structural framework than by a silent agreement they all seem to share. In most of these studies I was struck by the apparent agreement, independently decided, that the study of the early modern experience as expressed in Tokugawa institutional life is indispensable to understanding and explaining the later achievement of modernity in Japan. This conviction is made explicit by Hall in his opening statement, "The New Look of Tokugawa History," and it is confirmed again by most of the articles that appear in this volume.

In pursuit of Japan's mysterious modern achievement, historians have been obliged to examine in great detail the past relationships that are most immediate to this experience; they have plunged into the substructure of modern Japanese history and have found in the Tokugawa institutional, agro-economic, and social processes not only the dynamic of social change but also the preconditions of modernity. While this may seem to some an elaborate effort that places the cart before the horse, it is far from that. Japanese historians themselves only discovered the importance of the Tokugawa period after they began to search out the roots of modern capitalism and political absolutism. Despite motives, the end result, as this study shows, has been the establishment of a field of historical inquiry for its own sake and on its own terms.

Most of these studies, with few exceptions, have escaped the tarnishing of time. But some appear as exhausted echoes of earlier controversies that no longer seem as important as they did to their combatants. Needless to say, each reader will find his own preferences, and mine incline toward those essays that have the least to do with the actual process of modernity: Hall's trenchant but complex articles dealing with the range of change between the thirteenth and seventeenth century as found in the evolution of the daimyo domains, Jansen's informative description of conditions in Tosa at the outset of the Tokugawa period, and Smith's very durable but still provocative article on the seventeenth-century village.

I think that Hall and Jansen, in assembling these studies on Tokugawa institutional history, have shown that there are few greater tributes to a scholar than the acknowledgment that his writing not only holds up to time but that time itself discloses the importance of his achievement. In their explorations of uncharted regions they and their collaborators have not only left sure guideposts for those who follow; they have also bequeathed an exciting charge to Japanese history. For, as this volume shows, we have been provided a rare instance of how the writing of history is transformed into a historiographical event, and how historiography becomes identified with the historical process it seeks to illuminate.

University of Wisconsin, Madison

H. D. HAROOTUNIAN

BLACK FLAGS IN VIETNAM: THE STORY OF A CHINESE INTERVENTION. By *Henry McAleavy*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1968. Pp. 296. \$6.95.)

THE author of this monograph, a reader in Oriental law at the University of London, was attached to the British embassy in China during the 1940's as a Sinologist. He

affirms that the role of Black Flag mercenaries in Tonkin from 1874 to 1885 profoundly influences the present reaction of Peking to America's role in Vietnam. The book is based on French accounts, some of them highly partisan, and on recent Chinese Communist writings, but the mingling is too indiscriminate and the documentation too scanty to generate confidence in the interpretation. The listed bibliography and the scattered footnotes simply do not correspond. Seven works listed in the footnotes do not appear in the bibliography, and fewer than half of the twenty-seven works listed in the bibliography are cited in the footnotes. The preface explains that the work is not intended for academic specialists and that reference notes have been inserted only where the author might otherwise be suspected of exaggeration.

One gathers that Chinese Communist historians praise the allegedly patriotic role of the Black Flag leader, Liu Yung-fu, formerly a Taiping rebel under Hué's desultory employ, and condemn the mandarin Li Hung-chang as a saboteur of China's national interests. Chinese accounts also apparently attack the allegedly nefarious role of Halliday Macartney, British adviser to Marquis Tseng, who was present in Europe during the early 1880's negotiating border problems. In this connection, Kiernan's basic work on *British Diplomacy in China, 1880-1885* (1939), is listed in the bibliography, but apparently was not consulted by the author. The first third of the book covering historical background contains a plethora of dubious ex parte assertions. A particularly serious deficiency is the author's failure to assess in realistic fashion the significance of Vietnam's traditional vassal relationship with China. Colorful words abound, along with the author's periodic efforts to add salacious spice to the fare.

China's ambivalent role with respect to the French intrusion in Tonkin was conditioned by Peking's lack of any effective control over adjacent border provinces of Yunnan and Kweichow. China responded to Hué's belated appeal for assistance by vainly attempting to coordinate faltering official efforts with those of the Black Flag mercenaries. Marquis Tseng, while still in Europe, counseled opposition to French claims to Tonkin partly because he became aware of the precarious political status of the belligerent Jules Ferry ministry in France, while Li Hung-chang thought that China's claims to Tonkin were so tenuous and the border military situation so weak that it was folly to risk the loss of China's Foochow fleet and coastal shipping by going to war. The French on their part encountered as many disasters as victories. Their final expulsion from the China border town of Langsan in 1885 brought down the Ferry government in Paris, but not before both Hué and Li had accepted the French presence in Tonkin as a *fait accompli*. Li was happy to end the confrontation without having to pay the customary monetary indemnity. Presumably the Chinese historians are welcome to whatever aid and comfort they can derive from the dismal episode, but McAleavy's disappointing historical performance does little to clarify his initial affirmation. Scholarly history is more than a literary exercise.

Ohio University

JOHN F. CADY

RIZAL: PHILIPPINE NATIONALIST AND MARTYR. By *Austin Coates*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xxxii, 378. \$9.25.)

THIS latest biography of Rizal, the Philippine hero and martyr, is the ninth to be written about his life since W. E. Retana's was published in Madrid in 1907. During that time the body of published Rizaliana has notably increased. In addition to the poems, novels, and political and scientific essays printed before his execution in 1896,

the *Epistolario Rizalino* has appeared in five volumes under the imprint of the *Biblioteca Nacional de Filipinas* (1931-38). Other letters, diaries, and memoirs have been gathered in assorted volumes by the Philippine National Historical Society (1959), the José Rizal National Centennial Commission (1961), and the National Heroes Commission (1963). Mr. Coates has evidently made wide use of these sources but for the most part without footnote acknowledgment. He has written a sensitive and personalized biography that strives to place Rizal high among those—no less than Gandhi, Tagore, and Sun Yat-sen—who worked for the liberation of Asia from the European.

The thrust of the biography is toward the martyr's death and the high moral purpose guiding him, as he sought relief for his countrymen, which inevitably brought it about. Coates argues that Rizal's attack on the friars of the islands, which unleashed the polemics familiar to every reader of Philippine history, was the motivation for his death. The author's elaborate moralizing and his effort to demonstrate a pattern of consistency in Rizal's thought and action make difficult reading. He does distinguish, however, between the myth and the man. Rizal thought of himself first and last as a Spaniard. He consistently rejected the proposals for violent separation from Spain, or even separation at all, and he dissociated himself from the Katipunan. For years he chose Madrid as the base for his activities to help his people. In fact he was a European associated intellectually with men of science and learning in England, France, Germany, and Austria; his deep and abiding friendship with Blumentritt underlines this fact. The forces of change that had swept across Europe in his day, and the liberal thought that motivated them, seem to have provided him with the prescriptions for his own country. Coates's formula that Rizal was (following Unamuno) a Tagalog Christ whose sacred mission in life and death was the salvation of his people from the European seems, therefore, quite contrived.

Loyola University

PAUL S. LIETZ

THE SHADOW OF THE LAND: A STUDY OF BRITISH POLICY AND RACIAL CONFLICT IN NEW ZEALAND, 1832-1852. By *Ian Wards*. [Historical Publications Branch, Department of Internal Affairs.] (Wellington: A. R. Shearer, Government Printer. 1968. Pp. xix, 422. \$NZ6.00.)

THIS long and meticulously documented account of relations over thirty years between British settlers and Maori aborigines contains a vast amount of new material, especially on the armed conflicts, which cannot fail to be of great service to future historians. It has excellent maps and what seems to be a fair-minded treatment of individual Maori chiefs as well as of British governors and soldiers. Wards is too hard, perhaps, on Governor Grey, but that is the fashion these days.

It is in his treatment of British policy that Wards seems to have too many bees in his bonnet and to be overly anxious to show that all previous writers—especially perhaps Professor Keith Sinclair whose *History of New Zealand* and *Origins of the Maori Wars* have been regarded as authoritative—have been misled in one way or another. Wards tells us that by 1840 "a definite pattern of imperial expansion had been evolved," based on the superior authority of the white race, and that it is an aberration for historians to treat New Zealand as a "quixotic, and erratic, experiment in practical idealism" in which Maori and British were supposed to live together in a new Eden. This version of British expansion may exist in New Zealand, but the one more commonly accepted is that the British government was avoiding territorial expansion

where it was not strategically necessary and that it was only the Colonization Society and the "theorists of 1830" who pushed British settlers into new areas.

The battle Wards wishes to wage is over the Treaty of Waitangi, on which much has already been written. He has certainly read all the secondary accounts and has done a considerable amount of research into the changes made in Governor Hobson's instructions in 1839. Since no accounts of cabinet discussions are available, however, the points he raises are probably not capable of a final appraisal. His argument is that the ministers had abandoned a humanitarian policy and were merely insisting on a treaty that would justify British annexation in the eyes of the rest of the world, especially France and the United States. He speaks of Stephen and his colleagues "flirting" with the policy of moral suasion in their treatment of the Maori, although the picture of those solemn evangelicals, Glenelg and Stephen, flirting with any moral principle requires too great a stretch of the imagination. Stephen, it is true, was not confident that the policy could be made to work, and he would have preferred to have no "systematic colonization." But that he did his best to protect the Maoris and make the missionaries the arbiters between them and the settlers seems too clear to permit of argument.

Wards's other purpose is to prove that the Colonial Office should have maintained a garrison of at least two or three hundred British troops from the moment they appointed a representative in 1832. He treats with scant respect the efforts of Colonial Secretaries to persuade the Admiralty to assign naval vessels and marines to stations in Auckland or the Bay of Islands, and, since the first two governors were naval officers and the settlements were on the coast and not accessible to each other by land, such a policy would seem very sensible to the layman. But because the Admiralty was adamant and would promise nothing, it would certainly have been wiser to keep a permanent garrison of troops on North Island after Hobson became governor. Wards gives some interesting new material on the availability of troops from Australia and the opinions of the Duke of Wellington, which came from the War Office Papers.

Bryn Mawr College

HELEN TAFT MANNING

SQUATTER, SELECTOR, AND STOREKEEPER: A HISTORY OF THE DARLING DOWNS, 1859-93. By *D. B. Waterson*. ([Sydney:] Sydney University Press, 1968. Pp. x, 310. \$US9.00.)

THE Darling Downs is a rich agricultural region of some seven million acres in southern Queensland, a hundred miles west of the capital city of Brisbane. It is one of the better areas for mixed farming in that vast state, and like so many other regions of eastern Australia, its economic beginnings in the 1840's were in pastoral activity, dominated by the large squatting interests represented by a few pioneer families who held pre-emptive rights over much of the region.

Dr. Waterson's book, the outgrowth of a dissertation at the Australian National University, deals with the challenge to these squatting interests from the small farmers, and also from the storekeepers, newspaper proprietors, and others who saw an expanding population as a chance to further their own economic and political ambitions. The major sources on which the study is based are official publications of the Queensland government and local newspapers.

It is unfortunate that there were not more private and personal sources to draw upon, for the work reads much like a blue book or a white paper. To call it a history of the area, as the secondary title does, is to promise more than is delivered. Of schools,

hospitals, religious institutions, and social life there is little. The one touch of personality that flavors the author's recounting of the vicissitudes of the farming life on the Downs comes from use of Steele Rudd's semiclassic, *On Our Selection*. Rudd's father, one of the small farmers of the area, struggled to make a living against the natural difficulties and the extortionate charges and interest rates imposed by the local storekeepers.

Aside from this, while there is a plethora of names in the account of the development of the region, most of them are faceless men; few real characters emerge. And the author aggravates this by frequent reference to people whom he leaves unidentified, even to the extent of according them no first names.

The heart of this work is the author's discussion of the problems of land legislation and settlement. Political leaders of the state, motivated in part by the agrarian myth of the sturdy yeomanry, enacted laws with a number of innovative features. But efforts to open the lands by such laws frequently floundered because in the Darling Downs, as elsewhere in agricultural frontier regions, there was no well-grounded conception of what a viable farming unit was. The best part of this book centers around the defeat or frustration of this agrarian ideal, and in this respect it is a useful addition both to regional and agricultural history of Australia.

University of Maryland

DONALD C. GORDON

Americas

THE NATIONAL UNION CATALOG OF MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS, 1967. INDEX 1967. Compiled by the Library of Congress from reports provided by American repositories with assistance from the Council on Library Resources, Inc. [The Library of Congress Catalogs.] (Washington, D.C.: the Library. 1968. Pp. xxv, 525. \$15.00.)

AN encouraging aspect of the 1967 *Catalog* is that it indicates that its planners in the Library of Congress have settled on a sensible indexing policy. In the 1965 volume they announced that each annual addition would cumulate the index, and I warned against the unsound implications (*AHR*, LXXII [July 1967], 1473). This policy has been abandoned, and the present volume contains an index for its contents only. Cumulation will, presumably, be only triennial. If the current rate of reporting holds, this should be a workable system.

This volume, sixth in the series, lists 2,244 collections from 89 repositories, making the *Catalog's* grand total 20,661 collections in 660 repositories. There were 44 repositories reporting for the first time, including one in Puerto Rico. This extends geographic coverage, which previously encompassed the fifty states, the District of Columbia, and the Canal Zone. Other insular dependencies, as well as many important repositories in the states, remain to be heard from. Many institutions have added nothing to the *Catalog* since it began. Their reports were mere curtain raisers, and researchers remain uninformed of the rich and varied collections constituting their main wealth. Those administering these repositories should make reporting to the *Catalog* a routine part of their procedures. Some institutions that had announced the impossibility of reporting collections held before the *Catalog's* inception have now reversed this policy by listing some venerable treasures. Such flexibility on their part, as well as that indicated by the Library of Congress staff responsible for the *Catalog*, is admirable and indicates a desire to increase the *Catalog's* service to researchers.

Lest any institution think it is too late to contribute to scholarship by acquiring manuscripts, this volume clearly demonstrates the recent success of the Boston University library in collecting important papers through a concerted effort to attract papers of prominent and, for the most part, recent, American authors. Among the acquisitions, dating largely from 1966, are the papers of C. W. Ceram, John P. Marquand, Borden Deal, Eric Ambler, Stephen Birmingham, Fairfax D. Downey, Flora Lewis, Max Shulman, Frank G. Slaughter, and Edward C. Wagenknecht. Imagination and energy on the part of repositories still have their obvious rewards, which ultimately benefit researchers.

Iowa State University

WALTER RUNDELL, JR.

THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE: ITS INFLUENCE ON UNITED STATES POLICIES TO THE END OF WORLD WAR II. By *Wilfrid Hardy Callcott*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 506. \$10.00.)

AFTER a brief treatment of the nineteenth-century involvement of the United States in Western Hemisphere diplomacy, the author devotes the major portion of his book to the twentieth century. By then United States land absorption had been checked, but commercial appetite had become a dominant economic penetration. The unilateral expression of President Monroe's doctrine had through the corollaries of Polk, Grant, Theodore Roosevelt, and Lodge come to a high-water mark of political intervention. All these interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine were meant to ensure the security of the United States against European intervention, either by preventing the transfer of colonies and the occupation of indebted Latin American countries, or by opposing the use of force in boundary disputes. Along the Mexican border and in the area washed by the Caribbean Sea, United States sensitivity to European interposition was sharpened by the belief that "territorial propinquity creates special interest." And of most concern was the Isthmus of Panama, where a waterway was to link the oceans and where the approaches were vital to the security and economic advantage of the United States.

The beginnings of Pan-Americanism in 1889 had tied to the usual oratory of neighborliness the real objective of United States security and trade. If Monroeism was to evolve into a multinational doctrine of the Americas, the special interest of the United States was never forgotten. Employment of "Yankee" private capital in Latin American countries was encouraged by the State Department, in order to tie Latin America into a "dollar diplomacy" agreement with the United States. During two world wars, the United States sought to woo the countries of the Western Hemisphere into economic and political unity against the foreign foe. The countries of Latin America were treated to the blessings of increased purchase of raw materials, expanded industry, and enlarged loans that boosted their national image and prosperity. When the wars were over and North American aids were withdrawn, Latin America regarded the "good neighbor" as being uninterested, and Pan-Americanism as an expedient tool of exploitation of the hemisphere by the United States.

The postwar preoccupation of the United States was with Europe and the Far East. Latin America, meanwhile, was struggling for economic survival, and its people were awakening to the need for a social revolution. The United States suddenly became concerned with the threat of Communism and labored to shore up the hemisphere against nondemocratic and foreign infiltration. It made concessions to such Latin American sensitivities as the "non-intervention" doctrine. At successive Pan-American conferences the United States pledged itself to this doctrine, while

urging its own doctrine of hemispheric solidarity and while building the machinery of defense of the Americas. At the Bogotá Conference in 1948, Secretary Marshall urged solidarity; the governments of Latin America resented the minimal economic concern that Washington showed for their countries. The twentieth century in the Americas is a troubled one, and the author tells in detail of the conflicts between the United States and its twenty Latin American neighbors.

While concerning himself mostly with Latin America, Professor Callcott also sketches an account of "Yankee" relations with Canada. From the early desires for expansion into Canada and the sporadic Fenian raids, we come to view the more explosive issues of fisheries, seal herds, and tariffs. Complexity is increased by the tri-cornered diplomacy of England, Canada, and the United States; yet, because of Anglo-American likenesses, friendliness with Canada still grows along the great unguarded frontier. Though drawn into a more involved economic and cultural friendship with the United States, Canada avoids absorption into a Pan-Americanism that would cut its ties with England and subject it to "Yankee" dominance.

Callcott has given us a study of "the erratic steps that led . . . [to] a hemisphere policy for the United States as it attempted to meet the changing conditions . . . of the twentieth century." He brings to his reader a wide expanse of United States diplomacy in the Western Hemisphere. To the historian who is well versed in the diplomacy of the Americas, it is a rewarding experience, for he sees the breadth of study and evaluation that has gone into this book. The author has provided us with a fund of detailed information on the diplomacy. For the reader who is little prepared in the history of inter-American relations, some effort will be needed to sift the general principles of policy from the great detail that illustrates them. Callcott rarely lapses in his interpretation; yet some readers will regret that the author regards Catholic reaction to the religious persecution of the Calles regime in Mexico as "rebellious and fanatical." It might better be interpreted as the legitimate defense of civil rights and freedom of religion.

The bibliography includes many serious secondary works on United States diplomacy in the Americas, along with some manuscript collections. Some United States government documents of a particular nature in period diplomacy are listed, as are certain periodicals. Research in the unpublished documents of the National Archives in Washington is not indicated, but this limitation can be well understood from the general purpose of the work.

Fordham University

EDWARD J. BERBUSSE, S.J.

THE CONCEPT OF EQUILIBRIUM IN AMERICAN SOCIAL THOUGHT.

By *Cynthia Eagle Russett*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 84.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966. Pp. ix, 203. \$5.75.)

PROFESSOR Russett makes it clear in her opening remarks that this revision of a doctoral dissertation is an introduction to the study of the concept of equilibrium and must serve to suggest to other scholars the importance of the subject and the need for further research and thinking about the problem of its significance in American and European thought. She describes the theme of her book in this way: "Equilibrium . . . was and is an elusive concept because [it] can be variously defined. On the one hand, it implies a state of balance or adjustment among a number of conflicting forces. . . . On the other hand it can refer to a process as well as a point. . . . It was . . . a way of looking at society used by academic sociologists, political scientists,

anthropologists, psychologists, economists, and even historians to some extent, to impose intelligible order on the confusing phenomena of life."

Her description of the content and organization of her book involves "(a) The introduction of the concept through Comte and Spencer; its transference to this country, and its establishment here culminating in the works of Arthur F. Bentley (1908); (b) the period of distillation and synthesis in the 1930's: Pareto, his American disciples, L. J. Henderson, and Henderson's numerous students; (c) recent developments, particularly since the 1950's generated both by Henderson's students and by the appearance of several new general approaches such as systems theory and cybernetics."

The value and interest of this study is the way in which the author pursues the idea across national boundaries and across the boundaries of various academic disciplines. Henderson was a Harvard physiologist whose interest in the concept was intensified by his reading of Pareto. Henderson, in turn, greatly influenced a number of Harvard anthropologists and sociologists.

Now that Russett has identified the existence of the concept and suggested its significance in modern scientific and political thought, the most obvious need is for further scholarship that will place the idea of equilibrium in its cultural context and explore its dialectical relationships with ideas like those of evolution and progress. It is probable that the intellectual community is becoming more self-conscious about definitions of equilibrium even as it is becoming more self-conscious about definitions of revolution. In this respect, it is useful to compare Russett's study with Thomas Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*.

University of Minnesota

DAVID W. NOBLE

MAN'S RISE TO CIVILIZATION AS SHOWN BY THE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA FROM PRIMEVAL TIMES TO THE COMING OF THE INDUSTRIAL STATE. By *Peter Farb*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1968. Pp. xx, 332. \$8.95.)

THIS volume is an interesting, even a remarkable, job of popularization. Peter Farb has managed to condense an enormous amount of material about ten Indian cultures, physical anthropology, archaeology, linguistics, and various theories of marriage, incest, messiahs, war, property, slavery, and other anthropological staples into less than three hundred pages. To unify this diverse material, he has chosen to employ, as his cumbersome nineteenth-century-style title suggests, a neoevolutionary scheme derived principally from the work of Leslie White, Julian Steward, and Elman Service. Thus, over half of the book traces the growth of cultural complexity from the family through the band, tribe, and chiefdom to the primitive state by using various aboriginal North American Indian cultures as examples. The second part of the book deals briefly with the evolution of this cultural diversity from the initial peopling of the continent as reconstructed from archaeological, linguistic, and physical anthropological evidence. In the last part he briefly examines Indian history after contact with the white race, with its story of conquest, attempted assimilation, cross-cultural borrowing, revitalization movements, accommodation, and the persistence of aboriginal cultures.

For the reader with little or no knowledge of all these matters, this book will prove informative and stimulating. For the reader with a professional interest in these subjects, however, the volume possesses the "Gee Whiz!" quality of the newly

converted anthropology buff more fascinated with esoteric lore than over-all cultural context. Farb neither gives the rounded picture of various Indian cultures contained in such standard volumes as Ruth Underhill, *Red Man's America*, Wendell Oswalt, *This Land Was Theirs*, or Robert Spencer *et al.*, *The Native Americans*; nor does he present cultural evolution with the complexity or subtlety of either Steward's and Service's own volumes or the pertinent pamphlets in the "Foundations of Modern Anthropology Series," edited by Marshall Sahlins. William Hagan's *American Indians* remains the starting place for the person interested in a brief history of red and white relations, and several general anthropology texts present theory in a more scholarly but no less interesting fashion than that of Farb. The condensation that makes the book move fast for the general reader only frustrates the more advanced reader because it distorts ethnography and theory by oversimplification or omission. Worst of all, controversial theory is frequently presented as widely accepted fact. Many social scientists even question the validity of the evolutionary framework on which the book is based.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, the book is interesting for what it attempts to do for the general reader and for what some more "professional Indian expert" must try to do someday to fulfill the promise contained in the lengthy title. The revival of evolutionary thinking in our day has important implications for the historian because it offers another method for ordering a sequence of events in time. Farb's book may therefore interest someone who has not encountered this trend before, but the serious inquirer should instead read the books he cites.

University of Wisconsin, Madison

ROBERT F. BERKHOFFER, JR.

THE KENSINGTON RUNE STONE: NEW LIGHT ON AN OLD RIDDLE.

By *Theodore C. Blegen*. With a bibliography by *Michael Brook*. (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1968. Pp. viii, 212. \$4.50.)

OLOF Ohman found the Kensington stone in the autumn of 1898 while grubbing trees from a knoll on his Minnesota farm. The Ohman place was located about three miles northeast of Kensington village, from which the stone takes its name. From that time to the present this well-known but controversial piece of documentary evidence of a visit by Northmen to America has provoked a very substantial number of books and articles mostly either condemning or upholding its integrity.

The stone bears a runic inscription dated 1362, which states that eight Goths and twenty-two Norwegians were fourteen days' journey from the sea where ten men were left with the ships. Ten other men had been killed. The stone was long championed by the late Hjalmar R. Holand who wrote several books and articles about it and never doubted its authenticity. He believed that the inscription was made by survivors of a fourteenth-century expedition led by Paul Knutson, which was sent out to Greenland by King Magnus II of Norway and Sweden. However, every runic specialist who has ever studied the stone has concluded, because of internal evidence (the use of certain runes and words), that the inscription could not be genuine. They have proclaimed it a fake.

In this latest book on the subject the author traces in great detail the physical history of the stone, the controversy that has raged around it, and the backgrounds of the various people connected with its history. He shows that many Scandinavian pioneers in Minnesota were perfectly familiar with runic writing, which Holand had denied. He further pinpoints the probability that Ohman and his friends, Andrew

Anderson and Sven Flugelblad, an educated man, may have, all or any one of them, known far more about the stone than they ever admitted.

His conclusion agrees with that of most modern scholars—that the stone is almost certainly a hoax. Nevertheless, the arguments about it will probably continue for years to come.

Peabody Museum of Salem

ERNEST S. DODGE

AUTOBIOGRAFIA DELLA GIOVANE AMERICA: LA STORIOGRAFIA AMERICANA DAI PADRI PELLEGRINI ALL'INDIPENDENZA. By *Giorgio Spini*. [Biblioteca di cultura storica, Number 99.] ([Turin:] Giulio Einaudi Editore. 1968. Pp. xv, 501. L. 6,000.)

SPINI's analysis of colonial American historical literature avowedly rests upon a different methodology from that employed by recent American writers on historiography. They bind themselves to a positivistic criterion of "scientific" validity, whereas he is frankly "subjective" and investigates the ideological maturation of America as reflected in its seventeenth- and eighteenth-century historical literature. Either his methodology or his superior skills tell, for the result is a brilliant study of how historiography contributed to the development, among Americans, of a consciousness of their historical identity and of their religious, moral, and political ideas. Although clearly no environmentalist, the author never loses sight of the material and social forces that shaped thought.

The book consists of four parts: two discuss Puritan historiography; one, "The Age of the British Empire"; another, "The Age of the American Revolution." Individual chapters are polished essays that summarize main features in the development. The text deals only with writers in the English mainland colonies, but the author treats publicists as well as historians when their occasional historical writings contributed to forming the tradition. The book is intended for Italians, and "bibliographical" appendixes for each chapter provide general readers with capulsized biographies of individual historians and references to their works and the relevant secondary literature.

The basic themes are familiar, but the synthesis that emerges is an invaluable contribution to the subject. Spini traces the origins of the providential interpretation of history by Puritan laymen and its later transformation by ministers during the Age of the Mathers. His analysis of the conflict between Increase Mather and William Hubbard is especially rewarding, as is his treatment of Cotton Mather's evolution from Puritanism to liberal Protestantism. The author shows how political and scientific ideas associated with the Enlightenment and the Glorious Revolution and loyalty to the British Empire shaped eighteenth-century historiography in Virginia and the South, New York, the Quaker colonies, and the West, and he sets the loyalist historians in context. In conclusion, Spini evaluates the Great Awakening and the Revolution as a bridge from colonial to national historiography. A key figure is Jonathan Edwards, whose conception of history enabled him to accept the Enlightenment as an aid in advancing Christianity. His optimism, along with the new age heralded by romantic mythmaking about American heroes and a Whig interpretation of the Revolution, convinced Americans that the United States had realized a happy society. In the belief that this achievement represented a providential design for all mankind, the old Puritanism reasserted itself.

Spini's mature scholarship, his insights, his command of the material, his suggestive

references to the reciprocal influence of Europe and America on each other—all these and still other unmentioned riches make this an exciting book. Americans and Italians are fortunate that Spini, of the University of Florence, is one of only two professors who teach the history of the United States in Italian universities. I believe an English translation of his volume would attract many American readers.

University of Illinois, Champaign

WINTON U. SOLBERG

NORTH CAROLINA HIGHER-COURT RECORDS, 1670-1696. *Mattie Erma Edwards Parker*, Editor. [The Colonial Records of North Carolina.] (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History. 1968. Pp. xci, 533. \$11.00.)

THE early court records of North Carolina, or Albemarle County as it was first known, are not exceptional in having suffered from neglect, disorder, and destruction. Publication has been partial and often inaccurate. For this second volume of a new series of "Colonial Records" prepared by the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Mrs. Parker and the archival staff have put in order the remaining court records of the earliest period, wherever found. The editorial work has been done with the care that modern standards require.

The records reflect the sparseness of the region's population (not over four thousand persons in 1690), the difficulties of communication except by water, the close connection with Virginia, differences with the proprietors over land, and the domination of the trade by aquatic Yankee peddlers whose New England-built craft could navigate the shallow waters of Albemarle Sound. Petty offenses against the person and minor disputes over property were in the jurisdiction of the precinct courts and appear here only on appeal, a procedure less often used than in New England where the people were either more litigious or the courts more available. There are one intriguing reference to a woman jailed on the charge of witchcraft, one example of a hanging for murder, one of banishment for manslaughter, and one of indictment for adultery. In four instances of bastardy, three of the convicted mothers, being servants, were sentenced to an additional year of apprenticeship. Except that North Carolinians may possibly have been brought into court less frequently than in more heavily populated areas, they seem to have shared the frailties of colonists on other frontiers. If the courts were in some instances notoriously used by authorities to their own advantage, it was because of the failure of the proprietors to provide the basis for a truly stable government.

In her introduction, Parker helpfully traces the intricate history of the various versions of the Fundamental Constitutions and the proprietors' instructions regarding them. Notes to the main text are minimal because, as the editor says, it seemed more urgent to get the records in print for others to use than to provide editorial interpretations.

The few comments that I have to make in no way reflect adversely on the accomplishment. The volume seems unnecessarily large and heavy. Some of the miscellaneous court papers might have been placed with the cases to which they refer. A list of the sessions of the courts for which the records are printed, as well as those that are known from other sources, would have made a helpful table of contents. Many individual entries in the index might have been grouped under such topics as "Crimes and Misdemeanors," "Punishments," and "Actions."

In general, the historian, be he of the legal, political, institutional, or social

variety, will find this volume a significant addition to the sources for his study of Americans in the seventeenth century.

Boston University

ROBERT E. MOODY

SCIENCE AND JUSTICE: THE MASSACHUSETTS WITCHCRAFT TRIALS.

By *Sanford J. Fox*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1968. Pp. xix, 121. \$6.95.)

THIS is one of the most interesting inquiries into the Salem witchcraft trials of recent years, and its interest derives from the unusual perspective of the author. Sanford Fox is a professor of law, and he is writing about a much-labored topic in our early history with a specific focus on the role of science: a three-dimensional structure. The analysis is based on a thorough consideration of the printed sources; Sanford does not pretend to bring new manuscript materials into the discussion, and he does what we professors of history sometimes fail to do: he sticks to his theme and does not fatten the book by retelling the old, familiar narrative. The book is analytical, to the point, and viewed from an unusual perspective.

Fox investigates the interplay of contemporary science on the judicial process at Salem. He identifies the separation of heresy from *maleficium* in the English world and then examines seventeenth-century abilities to diagnose both mental and physical disease. Fox discusses briefly but, I believe, accurately the seemingly paradoxical relation between a rising secular science and a waning religious world view.

While all this is good, I do have some reservations. Fox relies too heavily on Perry Miller, whose understanding of the scientific thrust in late Puritan New England is open to question. Thus, for example, the element of scientific understanding that underlies Increase Mather's *Cases of Conscience* is not touched on, although Fox accepts Miller's interpretation that this book brought the trials to an end. Fox has an ax to grind: he wishes to see more training in modern science in the curriculum of the law school. The study of Salem trials is explicitly a case study on the complex interaction between science and legal procedures, which have as their goal "justice." Fox tentatively defines justice as "bringing to bear in an informed way all that is relevant to the resolution of conflicts," and he concludes that "injustice . . . characterized the use of science in the witchcraft controversy . . . , for the reason that relevant and available scientific knowledge was either not used at all or was accepted *in toto* and put to indiscriminate use." From this he can easily argue that today's legal training should include a grounding in science to forestall the kind of "injustice" done at Salem. As a historian I am a little uneasy with this package of ideas, but not so much so as to keep me from recommending the book as a valuable, fresh, and informed look at the Salem trials.

University of Texas, Austin

MICHAEL G. HALL

PURITANS AND PRAGMATISTS: EIGHT EMINENT AMERICAN THINK-

ERS. By *Paul K. Conkin*. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1968. Pp. viii, 495. Cloth \$12.50, paper \$5.95.)

THIS is a collection of studies of individual men in which, like many similar collections, the essays on figures that the reader knows least about seem to be the most successful. Also, like other packaged assortments, the unity or homogeneity of the contents is as much imposed as natural. Of the eight thinkers here included, three are ranked as puritans (Edwards, Franklin, and Adams), three as pragmatists (Peirce, James, and

Dewey), and two are placed outside the framework of the title (Emerson and Santayana). The author's primary approach is that of literary criticism and philosophical analysis rather than intellectual history in the sense of relating his thinkers to the important political and social issues of their times. Although a brief biographical sketch introduces each essay, the author soon settles down to straight epistemology, metaphysics, and aesthetics.

Professor Conkin remarks in his introduction, "if this book has any real merit, it has to be in the honesty, the clarity, the conviction of the individual essays, and not in any broad interpretative scheme." One can immediately grant the honesty and conviction, but the third quality that impresses the reader, rather than clarity, is a highly impressionistic style. One is supposed to be "jealous" of Franklin, for example, "because he seems aloof and insensitive." Although the author's judgments and conclusions are conveyed in this subjective fashion, most of them still follow traditional patterns. One may occasionally object to emphases, but not to general concepts.

Perhaps because of the author's over-all plan, he is concerned with showing resemblances rather than differences. In treating James, for example, he remarks, "The parallels with Emerson are remarkable." But he does not notice contrasts that leap from his own text: "Emerson still deserves the credit for articulating the first coherent esthetic philosophy in America." "James adamantly refused to develop a theory of esthetics." We are told in the essay on Peirce that, "like the scholastics," he "wanted a philosophy that was true and not merely instrumental." But the essay on James affirms, "Two definitions had no significance for pragmatism: the absolute truth of relationship, and truth as the name for ideas which copy sensible things."

A major weakness of this book for academic use is the lack of precise citations and bibliography. In the article on Peirce, for example, the author cites the standard edition of the philosopher and explains the form of his reference as a standard for subsequent citations; yet in the following fifty pages he makes only two more citations. This paucity of concrete references extends over the entire collection. Each essay has a separate bibliography, but these are for the most part limited to standard editions and bibliographies.

University of Illinois, Urbana

A. OWEN ALDRIDGE

ROAD TO REVOLUTION: BENJAMIN FRANKLIN IN ENGLAND, 1765-1775.

By Cecil B. Currey. [Anchor Books.] (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1968. Pp. xi, 422. \$1.75.)

In this book Professor Currey attempts to revise the conventional view that between 1765 and 1775 Benjamin Franklin was a political moderate whose delight and devotion was the preservation of the unity of the British Empire. Almost exactly the opposite was true, Currey tells us; Franklin was one of the first American "radicals," who by the spring of 1766 had concluded that Parliament had no power to legislate for America, who by 1767 favored "American separatism," and who by 1770 was thinking about American independence. Currey pictures Franklin as infecting colonial politicians with these subversive ideas through his voluminous correspondence with America, as deluging his correspondents with jeremiads about British politics and society, as constantly urging resistance to British policies, and as furnishing an ideological rationale for revolution. No one, according to Currey, contributed more between 1765 and 1775 to poisoning Anglo-American relations, and no one was more responsible for producing the separation between the two countries.

Like many ardent revisionists, Currey is too selective in his use of evidence, ignoring those statements that conflict with his thesis. He states, for example, that by 1766 Franklin was "the foremost American exponent of separatism," yet, in a hasty search, I turned up a letter written by Franklin to Lord Kames, April 11, 1767, and one written three days later to Joseph Galloway, in both of which Franklin proposed a "Consolidating Union" between Britain and America. It is regrettable that there are also a number of factual errors in the work, particularly in the first chapter, and the author has a tendency to propose something by way of speculation—that Franklin was engaged in smuggling arms to America in 1774—which he accepts as fact some pages later. Also, his insistence on describing Franklin as a "radical" throughout the book is troubling, for his relations with the genuine London radicals, the group around John Wilkes, Arthur Lee, and the Society of the Bill of Rights, were anything but cordial. Currey's book has redeeming merits, however. It is well written. It admirably covers Franklin's activities in land speculation (the uniform failure of which, Currey contends, was an important factor in turning him against Great Britain). And it supplies a needed corrective to those who would view Franklin as more moderate than he was for a longer period than he was.

Institute of Early American History and Culture

JAMES H. HUTSON

JOSHUA PILCHER: *FUR TRADER AND INDIAN AGENT*. By *John E. Sunder*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 203. \$5.95.)

BORN in Virginia in 1790, Joshua Pilcher grew up in Kentucky and, after a brief sojourn in Tennessee, turned up in St. Louis as the War of 1812 was nearing a close. His knowledge of the hatter's trade seems to have drawn him to the fur trade, and in 1819 he joined the Missouri Fur Company, succeeding to its leadership on the death of Manuel Lisa in 1820. The death of two of his lieutenants, Jones and Immell, at the hands of Indians and the failure of the government to support him adequately in his efforts to punish the Arikaree Indians in 1823 led to the failure of the company.

Pilcher's attempt to recoup his fortunes by going to Green River in 1828 ended in a second failure. Cutting loose from his men, Pilcher made a remarkable tour of the British Hudson's Bay Company's posts in the Oregon Country and Canada in 1829–1830, finally returning to St. Louis. This little-known episode assumes considerable importance in Professor Sunder's skillful presentation as Pilcher's political contacts were sufficient to arouse American interest in the Oregon Country.

These contacts were also influential in procuring for Pilcher an appointment as Indian agent, and, upon the death of William Clark, he became Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis. His conduct of Indian affairs was knowledgeable and fair, judged by the standards of the time. Pilcher never married, but had a son by an Indian woman. In character he was somewhat too outspoken for his own good.

Sunder's biography is based upon a wide variety of primary sources and gives much insight into the business and political aspects of the fur trade. Unlike many biographers of fur traders, he has not padded his work. The book is highly recommended as a model study of its kind.

Colorado College

HARVEY L. CARTER

LONDON MISSION: THE FIRST CRITICAL YEARS. By *Jack L. Cross*. ([East Lansing:] Michigan State University Press. 1968. Pp. 165. \$6.00.)

THIS book is a brief, narrative account of Thomas Pinckney's service as United States minister in England from 1792 to 1796. Pinckney's special mission to Spain and the negotiations that resulted in the Treaty of San Lorenzo are excluded. Cross argues that Pinckney "wallows in obscurity," asserts that Samuel F. Bemis in his writings on this subject left "the impression that the London mission was a failure," and questions the generalizations that have stemmed from the scholarship of the 1920's. "This book," writes Cross, "is an attempt to modify these generalizations and to reassess Pinckney's role in the light of the full documentary background of his mission."

Although Cross shows that Pinckney was a conscientious minister, he fails to place him effectively within the general context of American and British policy. Much of what is recounted here is merely the day-by-day routine of diplomacy, and although the book is brief (132 pages of text), it could well have been shorter. Cross offers no real evidence that Pinckney influenced the course of British policy. The author has made use of American sources, including Pinckney family manuscripts, but he has practically ignored the sources for the British side of the negotiations. The comments on British policy and conditions appear to be based on the *Times* and on information in American newspapers, and there is little evidence of the use of the numerous secondary accounts, which would have helped to remedy the lack of primary material.

In his effort to give additional significance to the Pinckney mission, Cross overestimates both the extent to which Great Britain had conceded the American view of neutral trade by 1796 and the extent to which the British government was influenced specifically by Pinckney. Bradford Perkins has shown in *The First Rapprochement* (not mentioned in Cross's bibliography) that the precise reasons for the more moderate British attitude after 1794 are difficult to pinpoint, but it is clear that if Cross wishes to argue for the particular effectiveness of Pinckney's diplomacy in helping to produce a change, then British sources are essential to his case.

This study offers some detail regarding Pinckney's activities in England, but it is unconvincing in its attempt to discover in the mission a general significance previously unnoticed by historians.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

REGINALD HORSMAN

THE QUASI-WAR: THE POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY OF THE UNDECLARED WAR WITH FRANCE 1797-1801. By *Alexander DeConde*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1966. Pp. xiv, 498. \$10.00.)

LIKE the Anglo-American War of 1812 with which it can be instructively compared, the Franco-American conflict of 1798-1800 originated in maritime issues, was militarily indecisive, depended heavily on events in Europe, and brought the United States close to civil war. Unlike the subsequent struggle, however, the war with France was never formally declared, remained limited to naval action, and was well managed by a resourceful chief executive. The outcome for the fledgling United States was quite extraordinary: an end to French seizures, honorable treatment of its envoys, liquidation of the embarrassing Treaty of 1778, the way paved for the Louisiana Purchase. At home, the war divided the incumbent Federalist party, provoked its members to extremist measures, and led to its defeat in the election of 1800.

Professor DeConde tells us that his book is an interpretation and analysis of both the diplomacy of this conflict and the Federalist-Republican party struggle. Emphasizing

the importance of statesmanship in preventing war—an indisputable proposition—he believes that the whole episode might have been avoided had there been less emotionalism and blundering on the part of the protagonists. Until Talleyrand and Adams gained control of the situation, “heated emotions,” “irrational attitudes,” and “disorderly thinking” guided action on both sides of the Atlantic. But by his own evidence, France’s alternating behavior toward the United States—ship seizures, insults, threats, followed by peaceful overtures, retraction of hostile maritime decrees, the honoring of Washington—had the earmarks of a conscious, calculated policy that may have been misinformed at its inception, but was a rational one throughout. DeConde admits as much when he writes: “In 1797, to be specific, men such as Delacroix and Reubell had tried to destroy the Jay Treaty and to turn the United States against England. In 1798, when Talleyrand and others saw that this policy of threats and humiliation had merely united former friends of France in the United States with enemies, even to the point of war, the French government shifted its policy.”

On the matter of America’s parties, it is stated that in 1798 both Federalists and Republicans, though bitterly at odds, “agreed that America was in peril,” the former insisting that the danger consisted in an international conspiracy of French and American “Jacobins,” the latter arguing the Federalists were plotting to join England’s war against France. But DeConde does not tell us how Federalists and Republicans came to perceive each other in such distorted terms; nor does he explain satisfactorily how these perceptions influenced the parties’ different responses to France’s challenge. Again, he believes the Federalists divided into “war hawk” and “moderate” wings, but he neither investigates the composition and motives of these groups nor analyzes Hamilton’s role and the flirtation with territorial conquest and South America’s liberation. These matters, and others, deserve a systematic, disciplined, well-concentrated study, based on thorough research of manuscript as well as printed sources.

Reduced to plain narrative, this is the same story told by John C. Miller, Stephen G. Kurtz, John R. Howe, Jr., and others. Although DeConde adds some detail and refers to a wide range of sources in one hundred pages of discursive footnotes, in my judgment the earlier books are more accurate, consistent, and penetrating.

American University

ROGER H. BROWN

THE GREAT COLUMBIA PLAIN: A HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY, 1805–1910.

By D. W. Meinig. [The Emil and Kathleen Sick Lecture-Book Series in Western History and Biography.] (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1968. Pp. xxi, 576. \$15.00.)

In this solid study of the rolling wheat and livestock country along the Columbia and Snake Rivers in eastern Washington and Oregon and northern Idaho, Donald Meinig draws on his doctoral thesis, which covers a part of it (“The Walla Walla Country, 1805–1910: A Century of Man and the Land,” University of Washington, 1953). As a regional geographer, he says that he is concerned more with patterns than with processes, more with synthesis of the whole than with analysis of parts. Historians will especially appreciate his detailed views of occupation and his geographer’s perspective on men’s confrontation with a strange environment. He emphasizes, for instance, the geographical strategy of the missionaries of the American Board, which developed along with their purposes as they faced both Indians and Roman Catholics, as the strategies of competing fur traders had done earlier in the century. While considering cultural importations from the outside, as from California and the Willamette Valley, and briefly comparing pioneering along the Columbia and on the grasslands east of

the Rockies, he does not reach so far in comparing adjustments to subhumid climate as one might expect from his work on Utah and on the wheat frontier of South Australia (*On the Margins of the Good Earth* . . . [1962]). Successive changes in the uses of land constitute a substantial theme, though he subordinates them to the strategy of communications on which the hopes of the many townsite promoters depended. Although Spokane lies outside the Plain, Meinig necessarily considers it because it was a junction for the railroads that served the area to the southeast and a rival to Walla Walla, Lewiston, and other terminals. Accounts of railroad connections and their consequences are particularly full.

Meinig's bibliography is extensive, a major resource in itself; he has relied much on newspapers and magazines for the later years. Perhaps he would have viewed the promoters differently if he had used more manuscript material, as James C. Malin, Paul W. Gates, Allan Bogue, and Robert R. Dykstra have done in their studies of promoters in other regions, but he is not much concerned, as he says, with personalities, events, and such processes as capital investment. Those who plan other studies of this area will find his work as indispensable as that of J. Orin Oliphant, whose long-awaited book, *On the Cattle Ranges of the Oregon Country*, appeared at about the same time.

The University of Washington Press has produced a handsome volume, with fifty-five maps and many interesting illustrations.

University of Oregon

EARL POMEROY

RELIGION ON THE TEXAS FRONTIER. By *Carter E. Boren*. (San Antonio, Texas: Naylor Company. 1968. Pp. xv, 375. \$10.00.)

DENOMINATIONAL religious histories are often of great interest to members of a denominational family, as genealogies appeal especially to those whose relatives are represented on a particular family tree. Others may find that details of denominational history, as of genealogy, seem to partake of antiquarianism. The present volume is replete with minute facts concerning the Disciples of Christ, but it possesses rather marginal interest for many outside that fellowship. The title, moreover, is misleading, for it is an account of the Disciples of Christ rather than of "religion" in broader focus, and, chronologically, the story is carried beyond the actual "frontier" period. Historians, however, have a responsibility to present an accurate history of every phase of human endeavor, and the present volume represents careful research in the rather neglected field of the activity of the Disciples of Christ in Texas. Religious groups that pride themselves on their educational background have provided quantities of material on the struggles over doctrine and polity among Congregationalists, Unitarians, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians. Disciples of Christ, however, have generally been "practical" people who saw little need for the preservation of records or of periodical files. The present author has been trained in historical research and has diligently sought sources, often very fragmentary, to piece together his account. A leading denominational authority, moreover, tells us that he "is the most thoroughly informed living historian" of the denomination in Texas.

The Disciples felt that they were committed only to scriptural norms, with Christ as the "chief cornerstone" of their faith. Yet, bitter divisions arose over the use of instrumental music, the creation of denominational organization, missionary societies, women's and youths' organizations, and the exact significance of baptism for "the remission of sins." To many no justification existed for religious activities not specifically sanctioned in the Bible. Local congregations often split off on such issues, and the more fundamentalist ones emerged with a "Church of Christ" connection, the more

liberal ones being known as "Disciples of Christ" or "Christian" churches. Both groups emphasized baptism by immersion, thus curtailing fraternal relations with many other Protestant bodies. The author has been objective in his approach and has provided an excellent bibliography and index.

Ohio State University

FRANCIS P. WEISENBURGER

CHARLES ELLET, JR.: THE ENGINEER AS INDIVIDUALIST, 1810-1862. By *Gene D. Lewis*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 220. \$7.50.)

ELLET was an early American engineer who sought professional standing as an individual rather than an organizational employee. His training began as a surveyor, but after several years at work he went to Europe to observe the latest construction techniques there. By the age of twenty-five he was an engineer of repute, known for his independence, forthrightness, determination, and inability to compromise with opponents. As chief engineer of Virginia's James River and Kanawha Canal Company he constructed a five-million-dollar waterway from Richmond to Lynchburg. He was the first American to publish methods by which to formulate proper rate charges for canals and railways.

In 1839 he published a pamphlet advocating suspension bridges over major streams. In 1842 he won the contract away from a rival group, including John A. Roebling, to build what became the first successful suspension bridge in America, across the Schuylkill River at Philadelphia. Later he erected one at Niagara Falls and another over the Ohio River at Wheeling. Ellet had to help secure financial backing for the last two, and he became embroiled in disagreeable, time-consuming lawsuits. By his fortieth birthday he was one of the four or five top engineers in the country, and he looked about for a problem of national importance with which to climax his professional career. He found it in his commission to study how to control the Mississippi River and its tributaries. His basic innovation, an idea not really put into effect until the launching of the Tennessee Valley Authority, was a series of reservoirs on the various headwaters to prevent floods and maintain a continuous flow of water deep enough for year-round navigation of the major streams.

During the Civil War, Ellet insistently demanded that the North supplement its conventional navy with steam-powered rams. After the *Monitor-Merrimac* encounter, he was authorized to prepare a fleet of nine vessels for the Mississippi River. With Ellet in command, the rams were active in the capture of Memphis; how much credit for the victory should go to them, and how much to conventional naval vessels, is still in dispute.

This biography is well organized, clearly written, thoroughly researched, and judiciously balanced in its discussion of Ellet's numerous controversies. The book is a valuable addition to studies on American economic and technological development.

University of Idaho

WILLIAM S. GREEVER

THE POLITICS OF THE UNIVERSE: EDWARD BEECHER, ABOLITION, AND ORTHODOXY. By *Robert Merideth*. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 274. \$5.95.)

THIS study of Edward Beecher is a significant, if not ultimately successful, attempt to expand the boundaries of traditional biography through the use of a generational thesis and the concept of the symbolic event. "I want to contend," Merideth explains in

his introduction, "that through Beecher we may see the dilemmas of a generation as felt ideas, and that the special dilemmas of his generation were temporarily resolved by politicizing theology and . . . theologizing politics." In Merideth's view the event that fused politics and theology for Beecher's generation was the martyrdom of Lovejoy at Alton in 1837; Beecher's response, first in his *Narrative of Riots at Alton* and subsequently in his efforts to establish theological justification for moderate institutional antislavery, dramatized the underlying political ambiguities and religious compulsions of his age, thus providing "a paradigm of the inner life of his generation."

The argument rests on three crucial but largely unexamined assumptions, the first of which is that the battle between orthodoxy and Unitarianism constituted the major conflict in pre-Civil War America because it signified a struggle between standpat conservatism and heady liberalism over the future of slavery. There may be a metaphorical truth in this proposition, but surface contradictions and cross-purposes in the slavery debate, the shifting positions and the personnel, are too numerous and varied for any such ready-made formulation of the problem. Merideth's second assumption, which follows from the first, concerns the continued centrality of Beecher's theological community in the slavery debates. While we may be prepared to admit the dominant role of the clergy (if not the theologians) in the first decade of the antislavery movement and with it the significance of the Alton tragedy, it seems clear that by 1850 the terms of the debate had slipped from the grasp of the moderates. The theological argument touched off by publication of Beecher's *The Conflict of Ages* in 1853, to which Merideth devotes so much attention, appeared increasingly irrelevant to a larger American society in which politics and theology, once perhaps complementary, had now diverged. The third assumption in *The Politics of the Universe* wears the mask of an argument for the mediational role of the church in the slavery crisis. According to the author, Beecher saw more clearly than either his conservative or his liberal critics the dilemma that they faced: that, on the one hand, "the nature of traditional orthodoxy blocked the church as an institution, from performing its proper mediating role," and that, on the other, liberals, in rejecting orthodoxy, "found ironically (and perhaps tragically) that they had lost their only practical chance to save their society from schism and war." The argument suggests a clerical variation on the "blundering generation" theme, with Beecher standing in for Stephen A. Douglas.

These three assumptions raise serious problems of method. Merideth's suggestion that a generation may respond to a national "event" in ways that determine subsequent attitudes and actions is a challenging one for the biographer. Yet, without a fuller conception of the multiple meanings of that event and its place in an unfolding series of developments and without convincing evidence of the persistent vitality of a particular community of opinion makers, the concept has limited utility.

Thus the strengths of this study are those of more traditional biography in unfolding through skillful textual analysis the stages of Beecher's thinking. Here the author works with a sure hand in depicting the young minister wrestling with his father's doctrines of depravity and retribution; the tentative searchings for an alternative belief based on the pre-existence of souls and the suffering of God; the gradual crystallizing of his theology under the pressure of the Alton tragedy; growing involvement with the clerical abolitionist opponents of Garrison and the elaboration of a concept of "organic sin" as an antidote to "No Union with Slaveholders"; and the culmination of this inner development in *The Conflict of Ages* written to provide systematic theological support for moderate institutionalized antislavery. But here also we find ourselves, not within an abstract collective mind of ante bellum America but inside the singularly

serene mind of a systematizer through which the events of the growing slavery crisis are refracted in a peculiar way—the mind, that is, of Beecher who, while rejecting the specific terms of his father's compromise, nevertheless carried his spirit and his passion into an age when this earlier style of cosmic politics was going out of vogue.

Brown University

JOHN L. THOMAS

'DEAR OLD KIT': THE HISTORICAL CHRISTOPHER CARSON. With a new edition of the Carson Memoirs. By *Harvey Lewis Carter*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1968. Pp. xix, 250. \$5.95.)

Forty years ago Harvey L. Carter, Campbell Professor of American History at Colorado College, wrote his first paper on "Dear old Kit" Carson, as Jessie Benton Fremont called him, "a nice guy who finished first." To commemorate the centennial of Kit's death, Carter prepared a biographical article on his hero for Volume VI (1968) of LeRoy R. Hafen's *Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*; he now follows that excellent sketch with a thoroughly documented study of Carson's memoirs, life and legend.

Carter's laudatory remarks on Carson's character support his primary thesis that "fortune has seldom smiled upon so deserving a person," and his narrative of Kit's life, based upon Carson's memoirs of 1856, completely reprinted here, and upon a careful study of the postmemoir years, supports his secondary thesis that "Kit Carson was . . . an unconscious agent of [manifest destiny]."

In Part I Carter describes the escalation of the Carson myth in literature and criticizes severely and deservedly most of Kit's biographers. In Part II he corrects the confused chronology of the memoirs and credits John Mostin as Kit's amanuensis. The earliest newspaper account of Carson's life, published by the *Washington Union* in 1847, is reprinted as an appendix, along with notes on nineteen illustrations of Carson included in the volume.

Carter has given us all there is to know, baring tidbits in newly discovered manuscripts, of the historical Carson and has provided a firmer foundation for accurate, believable biography.

University of Texas, Austin

JOHN E. SUNDER

THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, 1867-1894: AN INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY. By *Winton U. Solberg*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1968. Pp. x, 494. \$12.50.)

BETTER THE DREAM. SAINT LOUIS: UNIVERSITY & COMMUNITY, 1818-1968. By *William B. Faherty, S.J.* [Sesquicentennial Edition.] ([St. Louis:] St. Louis University. 1968. Pp. xv, 445. \$10.00.)

SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY: 150 YEARS. By *Rita G. Adams et al.* ([St. Louis: St. Louis University. 1968.] Pp. 176. \$2.95.)

A METHODOLOGICAL and perspective style has emerged in writing the histories of American universities. It is built upon presidential terms of office in much the same way that general American histories have been too long constructed upon a presidential synthesis. Like surveys of American thought, it is stronger in describing the intellectual content of academic life down through the years of the Darwinian revolution than it is in assessing the intellectual thrust of academic life thereafter. Within these customary guidelines, Professor Solberg's volume does very well. It has many qualities of dur-

able institutional history, and it compares favorably with superior histories of midwestern universities written over the last few decades, from the history of the University of Wisconsin by Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen to Richard Storr's account of the University of Chicago under Harper. After a much too lengthy recounting of the forces and ideas behind the invention of the American state university, the Morrill Act, and of all the jockeying within the state legislature of Illinois over the site of the new university, the book hits its own stride. The leadership of Regents (Presidents) John Milton Gregory from 1867 to 1880 and of Selim H. Peabody from 1880 to 1891 is judiciously but painstakingly described. They were intellectually dogmatic men with limited social understanding in those tumultuous years of American growth. A new spirit of student freedom was abroad in the 1880's; the old college authoritarianism was waning; "ritualized" student violence, which once included the use of shotguns, was even then, as indeed it had been at colonial Harvard, a sign of hostility toward the administration; college social and athletic activities were replacing hard study among increasingly sophisticated students. The final disaffection with Regent Peabody came because he represented college studies, not college life. Solberg is at his best when describing the gradual loss of the old-time religious atmosphere in the new university, which culminated in the abolition of compulsory chapel and the Foster North case of 1885. The volume concludes with the interim presidency of Thomas J. Burrill (1891-1894), a great plant pathologist, who began to reshape the university, to reinvigorate the technical and professional schools, and, with the support of Governor Altgeld, to start Illinois on its way toward modernity.

There are some important insights in Father Faherty's volume. Anti-Catholic Know-Nothingism separated Saint Louis University from its wide basis of community support before the Civil War, and it left the Jesuit institution to be eclipsed by Washington University after 1857. The author gives us one of the most perceptive assessments and criticisms of the Flexner report of 1910 to be found in our educational literature. There is a revealing account of the slow progress toward integration of Negroes into the student body by 1944, when Saint Louis University led other universities in the state of Missouri in this respect. But despite these high points the volume is disappointing because of its inadequate approach to the life of a great urban school at a cultural crossroads of the Middle West. The book meanders from one subject to another without large topical or intellectual themes and with only a strictly chronological scaffolding. At the expense of deeper inquiry into the many subtle relationships between the university and its city, the author carefully mentions almost every person ever connected with the school, and the reader often founders in a list of names. A saving grace is that, fortunately, some of the names are indeed important for the city of St. Louis and for an institution in which faculty personalities long loomed larger than their departments. Neither the city nor the school can forget Father William Banks Rogers, Father James Macelwane, or Edward R. Stettinius.

Dr. Rita Adams' pictorial history of Saint Louis University is one of the best of its kind. It illustrates stages of institutional growth from a sketch of Saint Louis College in 1819 through the fascinating period of urban expansion in the 1890's, when the new campus was opened and when the university once again drew closer to the city's life, down to the present, with photographs of the newest professional school buildings in an enlarged and renewed urban setting. A final picture shows the board of trustees in 1967, at which time it was reorganized to make places for eighteen laymen and ten Jesuits. In regard to this significant change the chairman of the board said that it meant not a change in university objectives but "a better means of achieving them."

We urgently need good histories of Catholic institutions in the United States. By "good" I mean analytical, critical, and wide ranging in their inquiries. How true this is also of our needs in histories of secular institutions. Despite Solberg's contention that it is society that basically shapes our universities, neither his volume nor Faherty's goes far toward filling our needs on that score. Both are essentially internal histories, and American life swirls around them. Until we begin to find out more, for example, about the social backgrounds and the postcollegiate careers of students, about the operative educational attitudes of state legislators, governors, and trustees, of church bishops or of absent Jesuit Fathers General, the historiography of higher education will continue in traditional and unexciting ways. When today we are aware of the slowness of change within universities, it is the historian's responsibility to tell us how and by whom the pace of educational change has been set or retarded within the context of American life at large.

University of California, Davis

WILSON SMITH

THE AGE OF INDUSTRIALISM IN AMERICA: ESSAYS IN SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CULTURAL VALUES. Edited by *Frederic Cople Jaher*. (New York: Free Press. 1968. Pp. x, 400. \$8.95.)

THIS volume contains twelve essays by as many scholars on what editor Frederic C. Jaher calls "the experience of America in the industrial era." Collections such as this present grave intellectual and practical difficulties for editor, authors, and reviewers. The general subject is as big and as undefined as all outdoors, yet the individual chapters have all the characteristics of the typical scholarly article in that they are more or less closely reasoned analyses of specific subjects fashioned by individual minds without particular regard for the supposed central theme of the book. The introduction to any such volume, and this one is no exception, has to be more an exercise in mental gymnastics than a synthesis. The editor must tie the essays together, and he does so, but what he ends up with is not a rope of many strands but a string of knots. The authors of the essays, for their part, find their separate researches buried in the generality and less likely to be immediately noticed or to be recorded in bibliographies and indexes than if published in scholarly journals. The reviewer faces both problems: If he tries to deal with the collection as a book, he will produce a vague essay of his own on the broad theme, which would be unfair to both editor and authors. Yet, if he attempts in the limited space available to comment on the individual chapters, he will offend his own aesthetic sense by producing another tangle of knots and at the same time do serious injustice to the authors by presuming to compress the meaning of each of their chapters into a couple of sentences.

If the authors of these particular essays subscribed to a single school of historical interpretation, their contributions could be discussed in this context, but they do not. If all the essays dealt with the same kind of evidence or employed similar methodological tools, they could be approached from that vantage point, but they do not. What to do? In despair I resort to a few impressions of the contributions I found most interesting. Howard N. Ross's essay, "Economic Growth and Change in the United States under Laissez Faire," is a most perceptive analysis. "Society," he writes, "did not have a real choice between laissez faire and 'managed capitalism' before the advent of Keynesian thought." In those areas of the economy where the government did intervene, such as taxation and the regulation of banking, the effects were incorrectly understood and uniformly bad. Ari Hoogenboom's "Industrialism and Political Leader-

ship: A Case Study of the United States Senate" represents an attempt to generalize on the basis of biographical information about the senators of 1820, 1860, 1900, and 1940. I found it interesting but unconvincing; the analysis is dependent on the one hand upon characterizations of individuals extracted from the brief sketches of minor figures in the *DAB*, and on the other upon statistical computations based on very small numbers of cases. Is the "fact" that Allan Nevins wrote in his *DAB* sketch of Thomas C. Platt that Platt had a "business-like instinct for detail" valid evidence for the generalization that the senators of 1900 possessed collectively a larger fund of managerial talent than those of 1820 or 1860?

In "Class, Status and Community Power in Nineteenth-Century American Industrial Cities," Herbert G. Gutman provides further evidence buttressing his thesis that in the immediate post-Civil War decades large corporations were both atypical and unpopular in most industrial towns. Through a case study of Paterson, New Jersey, he shows that during labor disputes local officials were generally unsympathetic to the manufacturers and that, indeed, the manufacturing interests were often viewed as "disruptive outsider[s]" by community leaders. "Economic power was not easily translated into social and political power," Gutman concludes. Finally, I found John G. Cawelti's study of the world's fairs of 1876, 1893, and 1933 an elegant and imaginative exposition of the thesis that "American culture defined itself in traditional political terms in 1876, in terms of the leadership of a special business-artistic elite in 1893, and as a system of corporate institutions in 1933."

Columbia University

JOHN A. GARRATY

SAMUEL GRISWOLD GOODRICH, CREATOR OF PETER PARLEY: A STUDY OF HIS LIFE AND WORK. By *Daniel Roselle*. (Albany: State University of New York Press. 1968. Pp. 181. \$6.00.)

As the creator of Peter Parley, beloved fictional pedagogue, Samuel Griswold Goodrich would deserve study if only for his remarkably early understanding of the learning child's psychology. A successful author and publisher of children's tales and textbooks in the Boston of the 1830's and 1840's, he conveyed information palatably, although not always accurately or without bias, and was widely imitated in the United States and in England. Goodrich's formula of interspersing easily assimilated facts and opinions into his adventure tales, and his technique of repetition and oversimplification in his textbooks, launched the young man from Ridgefield, Connecticut, on a career that included his encouragement of the emerging Hawthorne and many other American writers and engravers who contributed to his annual, *The Token*.

Daniel Roselle has devoted one of his eight chapters to Goodrich's equivocal relations with Hawthorne, a subject usually approached from the writer's rather than the publisher's point of view. While Hawthorne and his friends were tempted at times to regard Goodrich's patronage as approaching exploitation, the evidence offered here in no way discredits Goodrich, emphasizing, rather, Hawthorne's lack of confidence and his desire for obscurity in his early years. It points up, importantly, the role of the discerning publisher, even then, in launching a young writer's career.

In 1837 Goodrich, a Whig, was elected to the senate in Massachusetts, and, when he engaged in an ill-fated effort at temperance reform, his political enemies quickly enumerated the lavish contents of his wine cellar. President Fillmore later appointed him United States consul in Paris, where he conducted himself creditably during a brief two-year tenure. Upon his return to the United States in 1855, Goodrich found the

slavery issue raging and declared himself a firm Free-Soiler. But too weary to re-enter politics, he lived quietly in Southbury, Connecticut, until his death in 1860.

Roselle's most valuable contribution lies in his analysis of the Peter Parley volumes, whose stories combined an "exaggerated dramatic quality" with a "temper of deeply religious morality"; amusement and instruction were agreeably united in the engaging figure of old Peter Parley. In his textbooks, too, Goodrich employed "variety and spice" to teach the basics of spelling, arithmetic, and geography, and to convey the flavor of major historical epochs and personalities. There is no denying that, however provincial his premises, he pushed back the provincial horizons of countless youngsters in mid-nineteenth-century America.

Barnard College

ANNETTE K. BAXTER

STRANGE ENTHUSIASM: A LIFE OF THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. By Tilden G. Edelstein. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 425. \$11.00.)

MEANS AND ENDS IN AMERICAN ABOLITIONISM: GARRISON AND HIS CRITICS ON STRATEGY AND TACTICS, 1834-1850. By Aileen S. Kraditor. (New York: Pantheon Books. [1969.] Pp. xvi, 296. \$7.95.)

TODAY's neoabolitionist historians, whose own social roles often intensify their sense of identity with the antislavery radicals, are understandably hostile to the "psychological interpretation" of the abolitionist movement. There is an element of self-defense in their emphatic denial that the Garrisons and Sumners were typically irrational, unstable, headstrong, unrealistic, or self-centered. Not content with merely defensive tactics, many of these scholars venture counterattacks. Martin Duberman has argued that the moderate opponents of slavery were the sentimental optimists, and the abolitionists the tough-minded realists, of their age. Aileen S. Kraditor compares the antislavery vanguard to the anti-Nazi Germans of the 1930's and then adds: "The unrealism was not the abolitionists' for feeling guilty [about slavery] but their neighbors' for *not* feeling guilty." Tilden G. Edelstein endorses the view that "in times of social injustice [What other times are there?] it may be the inactive individual, not the reformer, who is mentally disturbed." This strategy could overreach the original objective, for a few persons abnormally sane in a sick world would still be freaks. Actually, the Edelstein and Kraditor books both tend to normalize the abolitionists and to take their measure by accepted standards of judgment.

Edelstein, after briefly revealing his own point of view in the preface, proceeds to demonstrate the wisdom of a suggestion by H. Stuart Hughes that if historians simply do their job conscientiously and imaginatively, "the ethical issues will emerge clearly enough." His book is a skillful and objective portrait of Thomas Wentworth Higginson—precocious student, disturbing preacher, restless reformer, prophet of violence, commander of a black regiment, physical fitness enthusiast, prolific writer, and tardy patron of Emily Dickinson. The study provides considerable support for the theory that radicals like Higginson were driven into action by their own compelling anxieties and emotional needs. At the same time it is obvious that such an explanation, by itself, would be inadequate and therefore inaccurate. Higginson may very well have needed the abolitionist movement even more than it needed him, and passion did sometimes warp his judgment. But this does not cancel the fact that he was a humane and enlightened spirit with a keen eye for injustice and the courage to do something about it. *Strange Enthusiasm* is the third biography of the man to be published in the past six

years, and I think that historians will find it the most valuable of the three.

Kraditor's book is of an entirely different sort. With William Lloyd Garrison at the center of her focus, she sets out to examine the differences within the abolitionist movement over strategy and tactics. She admittedly ignores "personality clashes" and makes no attempt to assess the effectiveness of the abolition crusade. Instead, she has written a study of the thinking that informed action, a special kind of intellectual history. Her treatment is primarily analytical and argumentative, and the book as a whole is original, perceptive, provocative, and vulnerable. Kraditor naturally gives much attention to the split that appeared in abolitionist ranks near the end of the 1830's. She is particularly skillful in showing the complexity of the debate over political action, and her chapters on the connections between abolitionism and other reform movements are probably superior to anything else published on the subject. She has also convinced me that Garrison, too often visualized as all heart and mouth, must be taken more seriously as a social thinker.

The flaws in the book, though less numerous, are as conspicuous as its virtues. Definitions and categories do not remain consistent. The meaning of "abolitionist," for instance, seems to shift with the argument. Generalizations about an entire movement are too often based on the statements of a few individuals. Furthermore, the author's present-mindedness, though under restraint, sometimes pushes her onto dubious ground. A case in point is her unqualified assertion that the abolitionists "always accompanied their demand for abolition with the demand for equal rights for the Negro and the ending of racial prejudice." Now this is simply not true unless one makes it so by circular reasoning, that is, by redefining "abolitionist" to exclude anyone not expressly committed to full racial equality. Also, when Kraditor suggests that the Garrisonian tactics of agitation might have worn down southern resistance in the end, one suspects that she is drawing more on historical analogy than on an understanding of the South. Yet the role of the abolitionists in American history cannot be satisfactorily explained without a deep, even sympathetic understanding of southerners and nonabolitionist northerners. If the new abolitionist scholarship is to be more than a rescue operation, it must heed another observation by Hughes that all great history has a built-in ambivalence: "The historian adheres to his own ideological commitments—but another part of him understands and sympathizes with those of the enemy."

Stanford University

DON E. FEHRENBACHER

THE MAN WHO MADE NASBY, DAVID ROSS LOCKE. By *John M. Harrison*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 335. \$8.75.)

DAVID Ross Locke, editor, publisher, and leading public figure during the Civil War and the Gilded Age, has been overshadowed by the fame and popularity of his fictional creation, Petroleum Vesuvius Nasby. To a large extent during his life, and almost completely since his death in 1888, Locke was known chiefly through the words of the ne'er-do-well "Dimmycrat from Confedrit X Roads, Ky."

This biography rescues "the man who made Nasby" from undeserved neglect. Like so many nineteenth-century editors, Locke began as a printer's apprentice. Then, in 1853, at the age of twenty, he moved to Ohio and entered the newspaper business on his own. During the next twelve years he became known throughout the state as an editorial spokesman for the Republican party. In 1865 he began his long association with the Toledo *Blade*.

It was through the columns of the *Weekly Blade* ("Nasby's Paper") that Locke

spread the Republican gospel into the rural hamlets of the Midwest and upper South. Circulation reached 200,000 by 1887 because Locke satisfactorily provided "a perfect knowledge of what the world had done during the week." According to Harrison, Locke's *Weekly Blade* presaged the modern news magazine. In addition to the Nasby letters, it included special features for women, farmers, and mechanics, plus "opinion, forcibly put, on all topics of interest."

The book is a valuable contribution to the history of midwestern journalism. It also covers, in admirable detail, Locke's activities as a lyceum lecturer, dramatist, and crusader for prohibition and Negro equality.

Since Locke's private papers have not survived, the author relied mainly on newspaper files. As a result, the text is marred by an inordinate number of long, verbatim quotes that none but the most persistent will wade through. Historians are likely to question if Andrew Johnson was, as is implied, a Republican President. Then, too, Benjamin Wade, as president pro tempore of the Senate, was next in line to succeed Johnson. But Wade was not, as is stated on page twenty-four, Vice-President of the United States.

In his conclusion, Professor Harrison states: "Seen whole, David Ross Locke emerges as a significant American writer, editor and publisher." This assessment is accurate, and Harrison's biography is the first study to allow us to see the whole Locke.

Wisconsin State University, Oshkosh

JUSTIN E. WALSH

MEANING AND ACTION: A CRITICAL HISTORY OF PRAGMATISM. By *H. S. Thayer*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1968. Pp. xx, 572. \$10.00.)

IN QUEST OF COMMUNITY: SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1860-1920. By *R. Jackson Wilson*. [American Cultural History Series.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1968. Pp. viii, 177. \$6.95.)

EARLY in his prefatory remarks, H. S. Thayer indicates that the full history of pragmatism remains to be written. Perhaps, but unless one is extremely rigorous about what "full" means, his work is very nearly that history. But it is more than history. It is also summation and evaluation of the pragmatic tradition in European and American philosophy.

The history begins about the middle of the seventeenth century when the Cartesian revolution first raised the fundamental question with which the pragmatists struggled: how to find an "integral relation between the nature of scientific knowledge and the status of moral values." After a quick run-through of the next two centuries, Thayer provides extraordinarily compact discussions of the giants of American pragmatism, Peirce, James, and Dewey, and the lesser-known figures of C. I. Lewis and George Herbert Mead. These Americans had followers in England, particularly F. C. S. Schiller whom Thayer feels has been unfairly neglected. Continental pragmatists he dismisses as not legitimately part of the tradition. In sum, these thinkers worked out an epistemology that they believed to be consistent with science and productive of a successful ethic.

Thayer argues that these epistemological and ethical positions were a response to moral concerns directly related to late nineteenth-century American conditions, and that the pragmatic viewpoint has had a major effect on how Americans and others think and behave. This is the only section in which the book gets beyond the history of professional philosophy, and here Thayer follows Morton G. White quite closely.

As an artistic unit, the several parts of the book hardly hang together. Yet, to-

gether, they constitute an important statement for the historian and the philosopher. Pragmatism is more ignored or maligned than understood today. It has been accused of sanctioning everything from Stalinism to student rejection of authority and professors' complicity in the Vietnamese War. Without being uncritical of vagueness and unsolved problems in the tradition, Thayer defends pragmatism as being important, effective, and, in fact, right.

Thayer has written a previous book on Dewey, and it is Dewey who is most frequently quoted at crucial points and most firmly defended. Yet Dewey was, more than the other men considered, not only a man of thought but one of action. In a book called *Meaning and Action*, it is strange to find analysis of only the former.

Although Thayer seems uncertain about the audience he is addressing, with some sections on the level of an introductory course and others requiring considerable prior knowledge, *Meaning and Action* can be recommended to the *patient* nonphilosopher.

R. Jackson Wilson's *In Quest of Community* deals with an issue that is parallel though smaller in scope: how selected American intellectuals tried to retain a sense of "community" in the face of the challenge from Darwinism and post-1850 rapid social change. This is a crucial problem, and one too slightly explored. Unfortunately his analysis of Charles S. Peirce, James Mark Baldwin, E. A. Ross, G. Stanley Hall, and Josiah Royce is very little help. He offers no convincing reason why we should care what these men thought about general social problems, either on the basis of their wisdom or their popularity. Wilson asserts that they shared a common response on the issue of "community," but the text does not entirely bear him out.

The basic concept of "community" is left unexamined, leaving open the question of whether the five men were really talking about the same issue. Sometimes Wilson says he is talking about concepts of the relationship between an individual and society, and sometimes he says he is talking about the idea of "community." Surely these are not entirely synonymous concepts. Similarly, he assumes that "liberty" and "cohesiveness" are inherent opposites. If his conceptualization is uncertain, his over-all knowledge of American history does not give him much help. There are enough questionable generalizations about Puritanism on the second page alone to occupy a seminar. Is it true, to take a later example, that by the mid-1820's politics offered no satisfying career possibilities to a man of intelligence? The book has no bibliography, and Wilson's reading in the general literature of the field seems spotty.

His concept of intellectual history is fairly common, yet open to question. He deals with people who kept themselves almost totally detached from the realities of political or economic power. Yet the question he examines is very much a worldly one. Surely the *Federalist* analysis of the relationship between individual and community might be as relevant as, say, Melville's. Royce may have felt a loss of "community" but perhaps members of the AFL felt more a part of a community than ever before. The question Wilson poses deserves better treatment than he has provided.

Bowdoin College

DANIEL LEVINE

HEARD ROUND THE WORLD: THE IMPACT ABROAD OF THE CIVIL WAR. By H. C. Allen *et al.* Edited by Harold Hyman. [The Impact of the Civil War. The Civil War Centennial Commission Series.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969. Pp. xiv, 326, vi. \$7.95.)

HISTORIANS have almost as much trouble in tracing consequences as in finding causes. Nowhere are the difficulties of analyzing the results of a historical event more clearly ev-

ident than in the important series on "The Impact of the Civil War," which Allan Nevins is editing. Because the most recently published volume in that series, *Heard Round the World*, consists of six essays on widely different subjects by six historians of widely different backgrounds, it offers an excellent illustration of the methodological problems in studying "impact."

Both the contributors to *Heard Round the World* and the editor of this volume, Harold Hyman, recognize the complexity of their undertaking. "The analysis in depth of international influence," writes H. C. Allen in the longest and most original of the essays, which deals with Great Britain and the American Civil War, "is a . . . formidable task, for international relations are of immense complexity and operate at many levels and in many ways." To make an intelligent judgment, the historian must not merely know what happened but must also speculate as to what might have happened had circumstances been different. Thus David H. Pinkney shows, in his meaty study of French reaction to the Civil War, that these years saw a significant alternation in the pattern of Franco-American commerce, but he also recognizes that "All these lasting changes . . . would probably have occurred eventually even had there been no Civil War."

It is obviously not easy to know where to look for influences exerted by the Civil War upon other nations, and each of the contributors to *Heard Round the World* searches in a different direction. While Pinkney finds significant effects of the war upon French economic developments, John Hawgood, in a rather perfunctory essay on "The Civil War and Central Europe," looks for consequences in the foreign policy of Prussia and Austria. In Hans Rogger's perceptive study of Russian reactions, neither diplomacy nor economics is so significant as the response of intellectuals and journalists to American events. Allen believes that the major specific impact of the war upon Great Britain was in promoting the readiness of all parties to accept the Reform Act of 1867, but in Canada, according to John A. Williams, whose essay rests heavily upon the researches of Robin Winks, the chief result of the war was to promote the idea of Confederation. Obligated to deal with a score of countries in an essay of twenty-five pages, Harry Bernstein despairingly concludes: "There are many ways to look at the Civil War and its impact upon Latin America."

Equally difficult is it to know when to expect to find influences of the Civil War. Pinkney closely confines his analysis to the actual years of hostilities. Allen, on the other hand, omits entirely the "frequently recounted story" of how Britons responded to the war itself and looks instead for "long-term results," such as the extension of the suffrage, the deep concern Great Britain felt over American racial problems, and the "British mistrust of corruption and apprehension of anything resembling the spoils system." Taking the longer view, Rogger brings his account of Russian responses to the Civil War down to the present date.

On the whole, the six essays leave the general impression that the impact of the Civil War on Europe and Latin America was not very great or long enduring. Though each of the contributors makes his best case for significant influence, the more candid also admit, with Rogger, that to citizens of other lands the American conflict was "an event of peripheral importance." For this reason *Heard Round the World* has less significance as a contribution to Civil War historiography than as a case study in detecting historical consequences.

Johns Hopkins University

DAVID DONALD

DIVIDED TOWN. By *Mary Mitchell*. (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishers. 1968. Pp. ix, 193. \$8.50.)

THIS study of Georgetown, D. C., during the Civil War is largely antiquarian in its approach. Although it contains much valid history, pages and pages add up to little more than detailed substantiation of long-known facts. Some of the detail, it is true, will interest more than residents, past and present, of Georgetown, notably the description of the transactions whereby local slaveowners received compensation for their chattels after passage of the District Emancipation Act of April 1862. A curious imbalance pervades the entire book. Without attempting to make even a rough estimate of the number of "secesh" relative to the town's total free population, Mrs. Mitchell allots far more space and more appreciative language to the attitudes and family fortunes of old-line southern sympathizers and the romantic youngsters who dashed off to serve in the Confederate Army than she gives to staunch supporters of the Union. Indeed, the first three-quarters of the book is likely to persuade the unwary reader that only a tiny handful of well-to-do, long-time householders and a scattering of obscure craftsmen and shopkeepers felt any impelling loyalty to the Stars and Stripes.

Particularly disconcerting is the omission of several important and highly relevant topics. While asserting that "an underlying purpose of the [local Emancipation] Act was to smoke out rebel potential," the author nowhere gives so much as a line to anti-slavery sentiment in the community. She says nothing about Georgetown's response to the laws Congress enacted in 1862 and 1864, which required both District cities and the county to open tax-supported schools for Negro children. Nor, after discussing the town's anxieties about meeting the draft quotas in 1863 and 1864, does she allude to white people's attitudes toward the recruitment of Negro troops. In a history of a *Divided Town*, these themes surely merit as much attention as the minutiae of the arrangements made by the widows Bisco and Barber in hiring out their slaves.

Washington, D. C.

CONSTANCE McLAUGHLIN GREEN

BLACK SCARE: THE RACIST RESPONSE TO EMANCIPATION AND RECONSTRUCTION. By *Forrest G. Wood*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 219. \$6.00.)

A CENTURY ago the Civil War, emancipation, and Reconstruction cut with a terrible swift sword not only at a southern social structure based on slavery but also at the white supremacy attitudes and practices of all of white America. After a wracking convulsion, the institution of slavery expired, but Hydra-headed racial prejudice returned the blows in a "white backlash" of large proportions. This book, by Forrest G. Wood of Fresno State College, is a study of the hard-core racist literature of an era that furnished present-day racists with most of their notions and vocabulary, with terms such as "nigger," "social equality," "Africanization," and "miscegenation." This is WASP history rather than black history, but it is of a kind that no one who hopes to understand our national character can ignore.

After a sweeping review of nineteenth-century race prejudice that stresses its pragmatic and empirical but irrational nature, the book details the racist response to emancipation, Negro soldiers, the suffrage issue, participation of freedmen in politics, and the specter of social equality. The principal sources are about a dozen racially extreme newspapers and periodicals and more than a hundred racist pamphlets, rare books in a double sense, that are listed in full in the bibliography but unfortunately without noting the location of copies.

The book's greatest strength, redeeming it from its minor weaknesses, is that it plumbs the depths of the racist argument. The author does this with the cool *expertise* of a professional diver exploring a dark pool, with his wits about him but undistracted by any need to moralize or editorialize. The search leads as often into abnormal psychology as into intellectual history. Of particular interest is the story of the *Miscegenation* hoax in 1864: the journalists David Goodman Croly and George Wakeman anonymously wrote a booklet, pretending that it was the work of an abolitionist. They schemed to gull abolitionists into endorsing it and encouraged several partners in demagoguery to reply in pamphlets of their own. The racist element in the public debate over more moderate racial change is less skillfully handled and suffers somewhat by comparison with the recent work of Jacques Viegeli. Moderately racist sources are slighted, and the book trails off after 1872 with a claim that racial controversy declined sharply after that. Southern sources are also strangely neglected. It would be ironic indeed if, even in the matter of racism, the South was a cultural colony importing its finished bigotry from the more fertile brain and libido of the Yankee. Any reader of the southern press, however, will conclude that southerners contributed their share to racist argument and fantasy.

University of Maryland

LOUIS R. HARLAN

THE CORNELL CAMPUS: A HISTORY OF ITS PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT. By *Kermit Carlyle Parsons*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 336. \$15.00.)

CORNELL University was one hundred years old in 1966, and Professor Parsons here gives us a biography of its physical development across the first century. Although his is neither an unusually large book nor a portentously scholarly one, it is hard to imagine that another such study of this campus will soon be required, so thoroughly does Parsons seem to have covered his ground. In straightforward, narrative style, he traces the growth of the campus from the first private groundbreaking by the crusty Ezra Cornell on June 1, 1866, down to the present. It makes for surprisingly interesting reading, largely because Parsons has chosen to explicate this growth in terms of the attitudes and philosophies of the men who governed the university and the architects, landscapers, and planners whom they employed. Although adequately illustrated with photos and plans, this work is fundamentally a cultural history of the growth process, not a narrowly professional picture book. For this reason, it should prove as interesting to the layman as to the professional designer.

From Parsons' account, it is clear that Cornell has always been governed by men with strong, well-developed, and up-to-date architectural and environmental ideas. Thus, despite its physical isolation from the population centers of the East (always somewhat isolated, it is probably harder to reach Ithaca today than it was a century ago), the architectural and planning policies of Cornell have never been parochial. On the contrary, beginning with Cornell himself, there seems always to have been a policy of securing the best design talent available. Starting with Ruskin and Downing as mentors, the Cornell executives quickly moved on from such figures as Frederick Law Olmsted (whose advice they followed) to Henry H. Richardson (whose services they ultimately rejected). No firm was too prestigious for them to approach and none, apparently, so successful that it dared to reject the invitation to design something for Cornell. As a result, so Parsons says, "the campus became a veritable museum of the building types, forms and styles of American university architecture and campus planning."

As a matter of fact, the Cornell plant is today more quintessentially American than many older campuses like Harvard or Virginia, for there strong eighteenth-century plans served as armatures around which even late Victorian exuberances had to adhere. As a consequence, Cornell today displays the strengths and the all too common weaknesses of American architectural practice: not a single truly great building and not a single impermissibly bad one. The discouraging aspect of this record is that the most recent buildings, for all their stylistic avant-gardism, give little promise of proving any more durable than those of fifty or seventy-five years ago.

It is to Parsons' credit that he can chronicle all this with admirable restraint and close with the sanguine hope that "there will continue to be variety within unity, clean unadorned laboratories as well as elegant museums, machinery as well as sculpture and a sense of formality as well as [of] natural beauty."

Columbia University

JAMES MARSTON FITCH

VIRGINIA: BOURBONISM TO BYRD, 1870-1925. By *Allen W. Moger*. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1968. Pp. ix, 397. \$7.50.)

ALLEN Moger has produced an uneven general history of Virginia covering the two generations following the Civil War. The restoration policies of the Funder-Conservatives provide the basic theme: The leadership held a "limited conception of the role of government" and an "identification of state policy with their own economic and social interests." Upon this tradition, a Democratic hegemony was established by John S. Barbour, enlarged by Thomas Staples Martin, and maintained by Harry Flood Byrd, who reaffirmed the legacy of the "postreconstruction period of poverty and racial strife" through his pay-as-you-go programs and "massive resistance" to the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions.

Moger's treatment of economic life between 1870 and 1900 combines documents, statistics, and newspaper accounts with superlative scholarship. As in his early studies, he uses interchangeably the terms "Bourbon" and "Conservative" and denies that "urban, Whiggish" capitalists controlled the Funder-Conservatives. Rather, the party was broadly based among rural Virginians, former Whigs, and Democrats. A revolution occurred in landholding, which increased farm units and produced a commonwealth of yeomen farmers. The 1893 depression created less suffering than subsequent ones; persistent conservatism permitted the banks, unlike industries and railroads, to escape heavy losses. It is unfortunate that no chapters appraise economic developments over the final years to 1925.

Agreeing with Charles Wynes, the author argues that the period of Readjuster power in the early 1880's presented Negroes with their best opportunity for advancement; thereafter, the racist course of the Democrats, the indifference of Republicans, and the restriction of the franchise in 1902 fostered a closed society, leaving preferment available principally to the white race. The marked ability of the "Organization" under Martin to satisfy the progressive demands of the independents between 1897 and 1912 with a moderate but sufficient amount of reform furnished the transition to the business-progressive policies of Byrd in the 1920's. Moger concludes with a cogent summary essay.

Although printed sources, especially newspapers, have been carefully culled, the author did not consult any major manuscript source. Instead he relied upon doctoral dissertations, particularly "those prepared by students of Professor Edward Younger of the University of Virginia," to bear the heavy burden of research. In assessing the

twentieth century Moger rarely notes interpretive differences among his monographic sources, and his selection of scholarly articles is narrow. Failure to consider the complete studies by Jack Maddex, Burton Kaufman, and Robert Hohner creates additional flaws. Only cursory attention is directed toward education, religion, and the fine arts. Although not the definitive work for this era, Moger's *Virginia* is a perky, well-written testament to the wit and urbanity of an observer of Virginia life for over sixty years, and it is a valuable departure point for future studies.

East Carolina University

HENRY C. FERRELL, JR.

THE IMMIGRANT UPRAISED: ITALIAN ADVENTURERS AND COLONISTS IN AN EXPANDING AMERICA. By *Andrew F. Rolle*. With a foreword by *Ray Allen Billington*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 391. \$6.95.)

THE statistics that justify this study are impressive: in 1870 nearly half the men aged twenty-one and over in Utah, Nevada, Arizona, Idaho, and California had been born abroad. Equally startling figures exist for the seventeen other states of the American West that Professor Rolle includes in his study. Yet the impression of the West held by most historians and nearly all laymen is of an Anglo-Saxon stronghold in which a few Indians and Mexicans darkened the landscape. The statistics are indeed shocking, for they reveal, as the author makes clear, that the entire image of the frontier West is out of focus because the history of immigration has been neglected there.

More than this, the author notes distortions in the image of the immigrants themselves. They are said to have brought crime and disease, slums and poor wages to the new country. Or, in a more recent interpretation having Freudian overtones, they are pictured as living out their miserable lives in stuffy tenements, alienated from their heritage and from one another. Rolle disputes this. While he does not deny the ghetto and slum conditions in the East, he questions the dejection and hopelessness of these people. At least for the 15 to 20 per cent of them who migrated to the West this image was false. Far from being the alienated, the uprooted, the dejected, these adventurous and ambitious people were upraised. From railroad laborers to restaurateurs, from farm workers to farm owners, the immigrants advanced socially and economically. They became successful Americans in a single lifetime.

On both points—the importance of the immigrants in the West and their accommodation and acquiescence to their environment—Rolle has succeeded in presenting a new, accurate, but different approach. In so doing he literally forces other historians to restructure their entire portrayal of the American West.

Using the Italians as his control group, he presents a state-by-state history of the migrants. He tells hundreds of success stories, ranging from the noted Jesuit Father Mengarini to Fiorello La Guardia to Rudolph Valentino to A. P. Giannini. Still, he never loses sight of the average Italian and his family. He follows that basic unit from the arrival of the single man in America to his marriage and the growth of his family through the second generation. In this way he demonstrates how well acculturation worked.

This important study points to the need for additional research such as that being carried out by Donald T. Hata, Jr., Moses Rischin, Joseph Giovinco, and others. It also reminds us of how history can be distorted by myths and misled by fads. Yet, for all of its insight, for all of its forging of new paths for historical research, this book is enjoyable. Above all else, it is a chronicle brimming with optimism and good will, and it

shows how elements of the human family—in this case, the Italian immigrants to the western United States—achieved happiness and success.

After reading it, one would not be too surprised to discover that the Virginian was really a Piedmontese, and instead of saying, "When you call me that, *smile*," he really said, "Quando me dai quel titolo, *sorridi*!"

Florida State University

RICHARD A. BARTLETT

TO PRINT THE NEWS AND RAISE HELL! A BIOGRAPHY OF WILBUR F. STOREY. By *Justin E. Walsh*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 303. \$7.50.)

THE exclamation points that punctuate the title of this book and each of its chapter headings may be somewhat irritating to the reader, but they are quite appropriate in setting the tone, for this is a book written in exclamation points. As a portraitist, Professor Walsh belongs to that school which believes in painting a man, warts and all. And what a magnificently verrucose subject he has in the person of Wilbur F. Storey, one-time editor of the *Detroit Free Press*, and, later, the *Chicago Times*. Unfortunately, what emerges is a kind of Dorian Gray portrait, in which the blemishes obscure the human form.

Apparently, this was not Walsh's intention. We are told that "first and foremost, Wilbur F. Storey was a newspaperman. In this capacity he was ahead of most of his contemporaries. . . . But just as the genesis of Storey journalism at its worst was clearly present in the *Detroit Free Press*, so also was the genesis of Storey journalism at its best. And its best was very good indeed." There are repeated references to Storey's genius for journalism; his innovations in special features, such as a Sunday edition, his insistence upon typographical excellence far exceeding the printing standards of the day, his development of a corps of foreign correspondents, and his extravagant use of cabled dispatches gave the *Chicago Times* a pre-eminence in news gathering and news presentation second to none in the entire nation west of the Alleghenies. But however frequently mentioned, these are but passing references. Actual examples of these innovations and standards that made Storey's paper the great newspaper that it was are rarely given. There are few editorial quotations from the *Chicago Times* on the great social and political issues of the day, other than from those berating Lincoln and the Afro-Americans. There are almost no cited examples of news stories cabled from Europe, and, curiously, the only reprint of a newspaper page in the book is not one from Storey's paper but rather from an obscure Chicago weekly, the *National Observer*. The reader is thus unable to see for himself the effectiveness of the *Chicago Times*'s typographical layout.

What we are given in great abundance are examples of Storey's obsession with sensationalism, the many stories on crime and sex, the libelous fillers, in short, a plethora of what Walsh correctly refers to as "the debauchery and licentiousness . . . that made Storey a millionaire publisher by 1875." There is also in this biography a lack of balance in the failure to differentiate what was historically significant in Storey's life from what was only fleetingly sensational. In summarizing the high points of Storey's career, Walsh writes: "What other editor in any other American city carved such an incredibly distinctive record? Who else in the entire history of American journalism could boast a reckoning that included suppression by the United States Army on charges of treason; a public horsewhipping by a burlesque dance troupe; the creation of a special school for female typesetters in order to beat the Typographical Union; an unrelenting assault

upon a prominent physician who accidentally raised the editor's ire; the conversion of a prominent public journal into an organ of a crank pseudoreligious sect; and finally an attempt to intimidate the legal system of one of the foremost municipalities in the United States?" Surely, not all of these items contributed equally to Storey's "incredibly distinctive record." Yet more space is devoted to the horsewhipping than to the suppression of the *Times* on charges of treason.

Storey in his own day had the reputation of tarnishing and corrupting all that he touched. His malevolent spirit, forever seeking the sensational, is apparently still at large and capable of haunting a biographer who, with the best of intentions, would give Storey his due place in the history of American journalism.

Grinnell College

JOSEPH F. WALL

RAY STANNARD BAKER: A QUEST FOR DEMOCRACY IN MODERN AMERICA, 1870-1918. By *John E. Semonche*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 350. \$8.95.)

"A sensitive barometer of his times," as Professor Semonche describes him, Ray Stannard Baker (1870-1946) has proved no less sensitive to changes in historical climate: a "native American" battling for democracy, a naïve member of the "muckrake pack," a "reluctant dragon" ridden by status concerns. So this reporter appeared in turn in a two-volume autobiography, in collectivist critiques of the 1930's, and in a version of the Age of Reform published in the 1950's. As progressivism assumed complexity, Baker obliged: in David Chalmers' account (1958) of the "romance with socialism" that preceded the reporter's embrace of Wilson, and in my own study (1966) of the tension between Baker and "David Grayson," the pseudonym under which he penned many "adventures in contentment." Semonche's scholarly and well-written chronicle now brings Baker and progressivism full circle.

"The first book to place Baker within a significant context," this biography in one respect fulfills its promise handsomely. Baker was first and last a reporter; journalism posed his opportunities and shaped his limits. Semonche's carefully wrought accounts of personality, politics, and policy in the offices of *McClure's* and the *American* make interesting and important contributions to an understanding of Baker and muckraking. In other ways the significance of the context is less clear. Biographical detail, supplementing much already available, portrays a man undeniably "sincere, serious, diligent [and] principled," but adds little to our knowledge of a complex personality. By concluding his account in early 1918 he omits entirely the drama, still largely untold, of Baker's work for the State Department and his service under Wilson at Versailles.

Mounting an oblique attack on the works of Hofstadter, Hays, Wiebe, Kolko, and others, the author urges historians to recapture the "instinctual grasp" the reformers had of their own movement by defining "progressivism" as basically a call for government action and the subordination of "self-interest to a sense of social responsibility." Although this approach allows a faithful rendering of Baker's view of his own work, it also has disadvantages. Sharing his hero's vision, the author reports, but does not analyze, pervasive inconsistencies and confusion in Baker's thought. Accurately summarized, muckraking articles are, apparently in principle, not measured against later studies of business and labor, the railroads, the Negro, or electoral reform. Theodore Roosevelt, the socialists, and Wilson blur into way stations on a ubiquitous "quest for democracy." A perplexing gap exists throughout between the body of the narrative and historiographical reflections.

Within the limits of its assumptions, this latest portrait of Baker is sympathetic, objective, and complete. Semonche rightly warns against discounting the progressives for their failure to solve problems that continue to resist solution. His celebration of the resources of middle-class liberalism, if oversimplified, is reassuring. Some readers, however, may continue to insist that there was more to both Baker and his causes.

Swarthmore College

ROBERT C. BANNISTER, JR.

INDIANA IN TRANSITION: THE EMERGENCE OF AN INDUSTRIAL COMMONWEALTH, 1880-1920. By *Clifton J. Phillips*. [The History of Indiana, Volume IV. Published in observance of the sesquicentennial of Indiana's statehood in 1968.] (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society. 1968. Pp. xiv, 674. Cloth \$7.50, paper \$4.50.)

THIS useful work is the fourth volume of a projected five-volume "History of Indiana" and the second in the series to be published. With its companion volume it thus supplies a detailed coverage of the state's general development from the middle of the nineteenth century to 1920. During the last decades of this period Indiana underwent transformation into a predominantly urban-industrial society. Professor Phillips has produced a thoroughly traditional piece of professional history; it is overwhelmingly descriptive, systematic, and rich in local and regional minutiae as they relate to political, economic, social, and cultural events. He has drawn upon a generous variety of sources: extensive collections of manuscripts and archival materials, public documents, newspapers, and periodicals, as well as on a broad foundation of relevant monographs and secondary works. His prose is clear, if rarely exciting, and his notes and bibliography are instructive. His effort, in short, has been admirably adapted to a series aimed particularly at a regional audience, for one gets the impression that there are few Hoosiers who have gone unmentioned, and surely none of the state's railroads or other industries have. That, of course, is the nature of the beast, and what Phillips has attempted he has managed sufficiently well to escape the usual condemnation for mere competence and industry.

Without intending to discredit a solid performance, we still might wish that Phillips' eschewal of interpretation, bold generalization, and succinctness had been less categorical, for many of the materials encouraging imaginative synthesis certainly are in hand. We might also legitimately question why so capable an authority on Indiana's industrialization as Phillips resorts to the tautological nonsense of Rostow's schema for explanation, why the first two chapters on the exciting politics of a pivotal state seem relatively listless and shallow despite their abundant detail, or why the chapter on transportation, among others, for example, is allowed to drift into tedious and unselective cataloguing. Given the author's objectives within the limitations of the series, however, none of these queries really impair the utility of this able contribution.

State University of New York, Buffalo

C. K. YEARLEY

YOUR SON, CALVIN COOLIDGE: A SELECTION OF LETTERS FROM CALVIN COOLIDGE TO HIS FATHER. Edited by *Edward Connery Lathem*. With an introduction by *John Coolidge*. (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society. 1968. Pp. xi, 243. \$8.95.)

CALVIN Coolidge and his father, Colonel John Coolidge, were quiet men, but communication between them never seemed to be a problem. Such is indicated in this

handsomely produced volume of letters.

Edward Connery Lathem has set forth here the texts of almost 150 of the more than 400 letters from Calvin Coolidge to Colonel Coolidge that are now in the possession of the President's son, John. The communications cover the four decades from 1887, when Calvin left home for school, until 1926, the year of the colonel's death. About half of them date from the first thirty years; and the other half, from the period when Calvin Coolidge served successively as lieutenant governor and governor of Massachusetts and Vice-President and President of the United States.

Most of the letters are short, and they are largely about mundane matters. Much of the book, in fact, is taken up with explanatory material. The letters, nevertheless, reveal much about Coolidge's character, his openness with and respect for his father, and his businesslike approach to most things. They also show his talent for terseness and occasionally for humor as when he wrote just before the election of 1920, "I am at home today. Came home yesterday. Boys are well. Your dog is growing well. She has bitten the ice man, the milkman, and the grocerman. It is good to have some way to get even with them for the high prices they charge for everything."

Lathem's introductory passages and explanatory notes are sound and helpful. John Coolidge's introduction and facsimile copies of pages from five of his father's letters are welcome bonuses. The Vermont Historical Society deserves a vote of thanks for publishing this interesting and illuminating little volume.

University of Kansas

DONALD R. MCCOY

THE HISTORICAL WORLD OF FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER: WITH SELECTIONS FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE. Narrative by *Wilbur R. Jacobs*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. xxii, 289. \$10.00.)

HERE is further documentation to prove that Frederick Jackson Turner was a commanding figure in the American historical profession. From the vast Turner files in the Huntington Library, Jacobs has skillfully selected correspondence that illuminates various phases of Turner's career. Sensitive, perceptive narrative introduces the chapters and connects the letters. This book is the second of Jacobs' proposed trilogy on Turner; it follows *Frederick Jackson Turner's Legacy: Unpublished Writings in American History* (1965), also based on the Turner material in the Huntington. The final volume will assess Turner's impact on historical writing and teaching since his time.

Two major impressions of Turner emerge from the book: his acute understanding of academic problems and his radiant inspiration to other students of history. Others have dealt with these themes before, but nowhere else do we have such ample and convincing proof as in Turner's own letters and those written to him. That the profession still struggles with the same problems that occupied Turner indicates that he addressed himself to its central concerns. Those historians who now promote the inductive or discovery method as the "new" history should note that Turner wrestled with this issue in 1888, as a graduate student at Johns Hopkins. Throughout his career at Wisconsin and Harvard, Turner bemoaned the frequently antagonistic obligations of teaching and research. The first obligation of the scholar, he proclaimed in 1906, was to research. He recommended that universities appoint different men to teach large undergraduate classes and advanced graduate courses. The former should not be expected to pursue intensive investigations and to publish. Because universities made great demands on professors that only hindered scholarship, Turner came to believe that private

libraries and research foundations were the true promoters of historical investigation and writing. Significantly, his final appointment was as a research associate at the Huntington Library.

Despite Turner's dedication to research and to building collections of source materials, he never defined his career narrowly. However much he may have wished to follow his own investigations, he gave himself freely to students such as Carl Becker, Avery O. Craven, Merle Curti, and Arthur P. Whitaker, inspiring them with his kindness, understanding, and dedication to scholarly ideals and thereby becoming an exemplar for the profession. Jacobs has rendered a significant service in presenting Turner through these letters. We are reminded that here was a penetrating thinker, conscientious academic and citizen, and noble human being.

Iowa State University

WALTER RUNDELL, JR.

THE SLAVIC COMMUNITY ON STRIKE: IMMIGRANT LABOR IN PENNSYLVANIA ANTHRACITE. By *Victor R. Greene*. (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 260. \$6.95.)

DURING the last two decades the standard image of the European immigrant projected by American historians has been that of a tradition-bound peasant, rudely uprooted from his village culture, clinging to church and folk custom for security in the face of grasping employers and ranting nativists, eager only to accumulate a tidy nest egg for future investment in real estate, and hence spurning all blandishments of socialists or trade-union organizers. Ethnic divisions, we have been informed time and again, provided the essential basis for grouping American society, in remarkable contrast to the class delineations of European society.

Victor Greene's study of Polish and Lithuanian mine laborers in Pennsylvania's anthracite fields has torn a gaping hole in this new historiographical orthodoxy. He has designed his book unfortunately as a reply to the notion of the immigrant as a strike-breaker, or at least as hopelessly resistant to unionization, which was firmly implanted in American historical writing by John R. Commons and his associates. To some degree it was necessary for Greene to take this approach because Commons' conception, still dogma with most labor historians, impedes serious study of the daily relationships between trade unionists and the "New Immigrants." The regrettable point is that so much energy is devoted in this book to proving the "Slavs" were not scabs that the broader implications of its findings remain largely unexplored.

Four strikes serve as the focal points of the study. In the 1888-1889 stoppage, organized by native miners and those from earlier immigrant groups, the "Slavs" either evacuated the fields in droves or remained to support the strike with a degree of community solidarity and a vehemence that shocked the strike's initiators. By the Lehigh strike of 1897 (occasion of the grim Lattimer massacre) the Poles and Letts precipitated the strike against newly intensified work discipline and in the process laid the basis for the rapid growth of the United Mine Workers of America in the anthracite fields. In 1900 they overcame the traditional divisions among the Wyoming, Lehigh, and Schuylkill fields, which had always prevented the "Old Immigrants" from building a lasting union. The triumph of 1902, capping this steady progress, was a Slavic victory.

The basic thesis is established beyond dispute. But by laying to rest the myth of the helpless, docile "New Immigrant," Greene raises more questions than he answers. I can only hope many historians will move into the breach to examine thoroughly the relations of immigrant community and work customs to industrial discipline, the chang-

ing roles of older groups of workers, the use made by "New Immigrants" of regional political machinery (as suggested by the tantalizingly short sketch of Louis Hammerling), and the reactions of immigrant churches and fraternal orders and churches (like the prounion Polish National Catholic Church) to issues affecting all workers. Above all the miners' experience should now be compared with that of labor in other industries.

University of Warwick

DAVID MONTGOMERY

AZn: A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN ZINC COMPANY. By *James D. Norris*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1968. Pp. xii, 244. \$5.95.)

THE U. S. MACHINE TOOL INDUSTRY FROM 1900 TO 1950. By *Harless D. Wagoner*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1968. Pp. xiv, 421. \$15.00.)

CLIMB TO GREATNESS: THE AMERICAN AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY, 1920-1960. By *John B. Rae*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1968. Pp. xii, 280. \$12.00.)

THESE three books complement one another in that they examine the interaction of private enterprise and the changing business environment since the turn of the century. Each author, however, delimits his subject matter in a different way and, within his chosen area and time period, emphasizes different themes.

Professor Norris has chosen a neglected area—the history of the medium-sized firm—for his attention. He analyzes the development of the American Zinc Company from its beginning in 1899 to its acquisition by an international mining investment firm in 1963. In doing so, he properly stresses decision making within the firm. With the exception of variations to be expected in a specific situation, the story is not particularly novel. What is unusual are the author's forthright appraisals of the shortcomings of the company's top management and his understanding that decisions and action within the firm cannot be effectively analyzed in isolation from its environment.

Dr. Wagoner broadens the focus when he writes about the problems of builders of power-operated, metal-cutting machine tools. He is not concerned with decision making in individual firms but rather with the response of groups in a loosely federated industry to changes in their environment. From this vantage point he traces the industry's response to the business cycle, wars, and government during the first half of this century. Otherwise, perhaps his most important contribution is the concept that an "industry" involves the perceptions of its members. Thus, because they produce different products, entrepreneurs may fail to recognize that they are confronting common business problems. In this instance they acted with sufficient unity to be called an industry, but they did not achieve notable success in finding solutions to important managerial problems.

Professor Rae combines the approaches of Norris and Wagoner in recounting the history of the American aircraft industry from its infancy in the early 1920's to its transformation into the aerospace industry of the 1960's. Like Norris, he emphasizes the importance of personalized decision making in the development of firms and of the industry. Like Wagoner, he stresses the creative role of the engineer-entrepreneur in a rapidly changing, technologically based industry. Government was the industry's major customer and source of development funds both in peacetime and in wartime. Unlike American Zinc or the machine-tool builders, the aircraft industry had to work within statements of national policy in seeking stable growth. Except for the Morrow Board's

recommendations of the mid-1920's Rae found little evidence of firm guidance in this area. On the other hand, private initiative was encouraged by procurement policies that relied on competitive bidding and never closed the doors on those who could meet stiff performance requirements. Rae has done full justice to this fascinating story of innovation and enterprise.

Used collectively, these three books provide a good introduction to business strategy in its relation to the changing environment of the private sector. Each in its own way stresses the economic dynamism that resulted from reliance on private decision making and initiative yet documents its vulnerability to adverse currents of economic and social change. Each author leaves the reader on the threshold of the present era where the disappearance of the individual industrial entrepreneur has opened new vistas of change. Whether past experience of the type documented in these volumes will prove relevant to this new challenge remains to be seen.

University of Maine

ARTHUR M. JOHNSON

THE NEW YORK MONEY MARKET AND THE FINANCE OF TRADE, 1900-1913. By C. A. E. Goodhart. [Harvard Economic Studies, Volume CXXXII.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1969. Pp. 235. \$6.50.)

THIS book discusses the structure and operations of the New York money market and its relation to the interior and to Europe from the turn of the century until the founding of the Federal Reserve System. It describes the nature and causes of money flows, their effect on interest rates, and the vulnerability of the banking system to a lack of confidence and speculative influences, which resulted in financial panics. It documents the sources of data and gives the opinions and theories, current at that time, of economists, bankers, and government officials concerning the forces determining the flow of funds between East and West and between New York and Europe. The author sets forth the theory that the transfers of cash balances between these areas was the primary result of seasonal shifts in the balance of trade. This is in apparent contradistinction to the theory prevailing then, according to which the money flows were the result of capital movements between the agricultural areas and New York as the interior banks sought to keep their funds employed at all seasons of the year. This created alternate scarcities and surpluses of money that affected bank reserves, loanable funds, and interest rates. The author describes this view and substitutes his own theory that the movement of funds was due to a seasonal shift in the balance of trade. He bases his conclusions upon newly available data on trade and the volatility of interest rates in New York and the interior.

While not decrying the value of this new emphasis, I do not think that the gulf between the old and the new theory is as wide as it may seem. The older theories were concerned with the attempt to explain financial panics and the effect of the flow of funds within the banking system, but they were aware of the great influence exercised by the seasonal nature of agriculture in the shift of funds to various parts of the country.

This fine study is useful both to the historian and to those economists who desire familiarity with the facts, institutions, writers, and theories of this significant period in our monetary history. It provides the reader with a well-documented description and analysis both of the facts and of the banking and monetary theories of the period under discussion; it contains an excellent bibliography.

University of Wisconsin, Madison

WALTER A. MORTON

NOVELISTS' AMERICA: FICTION AS HISTORY, 1910-1940. By *Nelson Manfred Blake*. ([Syracuse, N. Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1969. Pp. xiii, 279. \$6.95.)

THIS is a jaunty, interesting book with a false thesis. Suppose we shove its period back a hundred years, to show what we mean, so that the subtitle becomes "Fiction as History, 1810-1840." How could we use that fiction as a source of historical data? In the first place, there was not much fiction; second, our chances of being able to judge its accuracy would be minute. The leading novelist at that time was James Fenimore Cooper, with his wooden Indians and his aristocratic Effinghams. The America he presented to his readers would be an odd guide to the historian. Trailing Cooper at a considerable distance were such novelists as John Neal and John Pendleton Kennedy. Neal's *The Down-Easters* has a stagy Gothic plot along with some description of Yankeeland; Kennedy's *Swallow Barn* has much Virginia atmosphere surrounding its slight story of love and litigation. But to mine either of these volumes for history would be rash indeed.

The only conceivable way we could use Cooper, Neal, or Kennedy would be if we already knew enough about their times to check their accuracy. Only if we already had a sound "sense of the past" could we rely on their fiction.

If this is true, what gives Mr. Blake's book plausibility? Several things, I believe. He picks the right time, he chooses the right sort of literature, and he introduces the right reservations.

The period between 1910 and 1940 is still near enough so that many of his readers will recall the later part of it from their own experience and will have a feeling for the earlier part through a host of cultural sources. That means that when they read a novelist on this era they can be their own guide. Certain readers will naturally be more acute than others, but all will have some recollection of times past. Then, too, Blake can draw on a series of novelists who were not only among the most gifted this nation has ever known but who also wrote exactly the right kind of literature: the realistic novel. The novelists whose America he describes in the body of the book are Sinclair Lewis, Scott Fitzgerald, William Faulkner, Thomas Wolfe, John Steinbeck, John Dos Passos, James Farrell, and Richard Wright. Though there are curious omissions—especially Theodore Dreiser—the roll is still a splendid one. When we take their novels and fit them together, it is clear that we gain some idea of America north, south, east, and west; of America rich and poor; of America black and white; of America in the Jazz Age and during the Great Depression.

In his final chapter, "Fiction as History," Blake gives us his reservations. Of course fiction does not tell the whole truth. Of course other types of data must be employed. To represent these other types he selects statistical tables. They are exact and passionless. He terms them and their kind "the cold truth." Against them he sets the subjective, creative truth of the novelist or, in his words, "the hot truth." Though it must be used with restraint, the historian can be comforted by realizing that "the novelist is not as capricious as he seems." Blake ends by telling us as historians to use as many kinds of truth—hot, cold, or lukewarm—as we can. Amen.

University of Maryland

CARL BODE

THE SANE POSITIVIST: A BIOGRAPHY OF EDWARD L. THORNDIKE. By *Geraldine Joncich*. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1968. Pp. 634. \$12.50.)

THIS is the first major intellectual biography of Edward L. Thorndike, one of the most significant figures in the shaping of psychology as an academic profession at the begin-

ning of the twentieth century. A large and comprehensive description of Thorndike's education at Wesleyan, Harvard, and Columbia, it provides a panorama of the revolutionary changes in American academic institutions at the end of the nineteenth century. Then, by concentrating on Thorndike's career, it adds to our knowledge of the professionalization of the large universities between 1900 and 1920. As one of the most important psychologists of his generation and as a member of Columbia Teachers College, Thorndike was associated with most of the leading figures in both psychology and education, and this web of associations is illuminated in this study.

Historians and social scientists will also be interested in the book because of its statement of methodology. Professor Joncich declares that "biography as intellectual or social history must preeminently be the writing of history as disciplined by the canons of biography—i.e. by fealty to the character, preferences, idiosyncracies, perceptions (even distorted perceptions) of the individual restored to life; his integrity as a person must dominate, after all. Because of Thorndike's 'primitive-sort' of positivism, this biography is stamped with a corresponding concern for detail and factletting. Because of his profound disinterest in—even distaste for—philosophy, his life story contributes incompletely to intellectual history."

Later, however, Joncich writes that "The scientist is not a neutral observer. Thorndike's research deliberately expresses social implications," but she has no analytical framework to develop a dialectic between Thorndike as an idiosyncratic personality and the cultural environments within which he developed and participated from the Civil War to World War II. As a result, she does not take the responsibility for demonstrating through close analysis the influence of larger intellectual patterns on Thorndike's psychological theories or the extent to which his research significantly altered those patterns. Rather she tends to state these larger patterns without demonstrating the extent to which they did or did not provide controlling assumptions for Thorndike as when she writes, "Protestantism provides . . . trustworthy insights into Thorndike's complex hereditarianism and into those aspects of his own social thought which resemble parts of business ideology because they are rooted in the same New England based ethic," or, "Like all progressives, Thorndike combines moral idealism and optimism with a faith in statistics and efficient organization," or, "In American academic circles in the 1890's, positivism dominates. . . . Facts are considered preeminent, and of almost magical power. . . . Hence, while Europeans were exploring the subjective and personal dimensions of experience—using the eyes and insights of Bergson, Freud, and Van Gogh—Americans are keeping their art representational, their novels realistic, making their philosophy empirical, their historiography scientific, and above all, their psychology behavioral."

The book does not clarify, therefore, the place or quality of Thorndike's positivism and behaviorism within a philosophic framework that apparently was so dominated by positivism and behaviorism that Thorndike could believe they expressed common-sense experience until he found himself increasingly ignored or forgotten at the end of his life.

University of Minnesota

DAVID W. NOBLE

THE PRICE OF VIGILANCE. By *Joan M. Jensen*. (New York: Rand McNally and Company. 1968. Pp. 367. \$7.95.)

It is hard to say which did the most damage to America during World War I: the influenza epidemic or the American Protective League, both virulent, widespread infections

with disastrous consequences for the country. *The Price of Vigilance* charts the vigilante history of the APL in as complete a study of that organization as it deserves or can ever get, since the National Archives destroyed all but five state files, and other files such as those from Chicago were burned when the league disbanded.

In spite of this handicap, Joan Jensen has established certain important facts concerning the APL with clarity and authenticity, using the papers of one of the national directors and the Justice Department, military intelligence, and provost marshal general's files in the Archives. It is now clear how the league originated and why the Wilson administration locked with it in lawless embrace for so long, making the APL its chosen instrument for wartime investigations. Jensen also defines the class nature of the membership, the incredibly loose and irresponsible organizational controls, the self-interested antialien, antilabor, and antiradical motivations of some APL supporters, and the league's impact on the home front from 1917 through 1919. With "a corps of sleuths larger than any country . . . in all history," the APL never found a spy, its original purpose, but instead became a loyalty-security agency checking the reliability and patriotism of thousands of aliens, civil servants, and ordinary Americans, often with standards and techniques (wiretap, dictaphone, illegal entry, arrest without warrant, *agent provocateur*) that foreshadowed the history of the 1950's. If the league made any positive contribution, it must have been as a vice squad and draft enforcer, for the US Army had a VD rate of 3 per cent (the Allies, 30 per cent), and the APL raids netted forty thousand delinquents.

This book will not change the historical assessment of Wilson and his subordinates as basically antilibertarian, as so many liberals prove themselves to be. But, in describing the APL-government relationship, Jensen does reveal how flippant, hypocritical, and unthinking the decisions often were that subordinated civil liberties to other interests.

The APL was not only in the American tradition of voluntarism and decentralized vigilantism, as Jensen clearly demonstrates; it was also part of the antiradical, nativist current originating in the nineteenth century. What is more, it imitated an official lawlessness that was typical of police behavior then and now. Can one expect citizens playing policemen to play better than the policemen?

Denison University

WILLIAM PRESTON, JR.

GERMANY REDISCOVERS AMERICA. By *Earl R. Beck*. (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 333. \$12.00.)

AMERICANS who suspect that foreign visitors to the United States carry back to their homelands misleading or hostile descriptions of America have their worst fears confirmed in this interesting study. It deals specifically with the image of America conveyed in the hundreds of "America books and articles" written by German travelers to the United States after World War I. Also examined are the writings of German experts in *Amerikakunde*, who may or may not have visited America.

The author points out that most of the Germans who traveled to the United States after World War I harbored deep feelings of resentment toward the United States because of its decisive role in bringing about the defeat of Germany in the Great War, and this resentment dominated their thoughts concerning America. Consequently, instead of making a careful, objective judgment of the American scene on their so-called "study trips," many German travelers indiscriminately accepted the clichés, stereotypes, and half-truths critical of America, and, on the basis of these prejudiced and superficial observations, they fabricated a hostile image of America and the Amer-

ican way of life for their readers back in Germany. Their views concerning specific facets of American life are treated in chapters devoted to American landscape, minority groups, economic advancement (which they grudgingly admired), democracy, women, education, religion, and culture (or, as they described it, lack of culture). The more favorable commentaries contained in the scholarly works of the experts in America studies are thoroughly covered, but, as Dr. Beck notes, these writings were too few in number and not sufficiently well known to correct the distorted image of American life presented in the travel books. In a chapter devoted to travel literature after 1945, Beck reveals that German commentary on the American scene in the Bonn era bears many similarities to that during the Weimar period, and he concludes his book with a number of suggestions for improving the American image abroad.

Beck's work is well documented, well organized, and very readable. The chapter treating the period since 1945 is somewhat disappointing because it is based exclusively upon book literature. The author rightly uses this chapter to bring coverage of his topic up to date, but his conclusions concerning the German image of America in the Bonn era would have been more tenable if they had been based upon an examination of newspaper and periodical, as well as book, literature.

This work is a major contribution to the area of travel literature. It contributes greatly to our understanding of the thought and emotions of the people of Weimar Germany, and, simultaneously, it provides the reader with fresh insight into many facets of American life in the interwar years.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

KENNETH R. NELSON

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICA: THE 1920's. Edited by *John Braeman et al.* [Modern America, Number 2.] ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 456. \$7.50.)

SINCE 1930 authors have suggested that the twenties constituted a unique period in our history. Major events—Versailles, the beginning; the 1929 panic, the end—seemed to set the age apart. Many who matured during the 1920's sensed, moreover, that their years possessed special qualities quite different from the progressive era and the depression decade. But historians soon began to find in the prewar years evidences of those elements that seemed most to characterize the twenties, and others discovered in the 1920's roots that appeared peculiar to the 1930's. This volume of twelve essays, the second in a series entitled "Modern America," does not solve the issue of the period's uniqueness, but it does aid our understanding of it.

David Burner, in "1919: Prelude to Normalcy," concludes that, despite the explosive nature of the events of 1919, Americans in 1920 rejected radical change and tried to recapture the "deep-rooted consensus of the American experience." Burl Noggle stresses the political rather than the moral or conservationist results of the Harding oil scandals in "Oil and Politics." Progressives shaped the investigations, Republicans and Democrats politically exploited them, and both Coolidge and Hoover developed their conservationist policies in response to them. Gilbert C. Fite, in "The Farmer's Dilemma, 1919-1930," retells the frustrating story of farmers caught between the upper millstone of a galloping industrial economy and the nether millstone of a disorganized agriculture that had, by the 1920's, learned too well the lessons of science and technology. Mark Perlman, in a more theoretical treatment of labor history than is customarily found ("Labor in Eclipse"), deals with the effects of shrinking membership upon labor union theory. David Brody, in "The Rise and Decline of Welfare Capital-

ism," analyzes management-dominated programs to improve labor relations and concludes that the depression, not anything "inherent in its functioning in the 1920's," destroyed welfare capitalism.

Three essays treat movements to slow the headlong plunge into modernity. Paul A. Carter, in "The Fundamentalist Defense of the Faith," rejects the view that fundamentalism was a "political ideology," a defense of an economic system, a rural attack upon urbanism, or an anti-intellectual movement; it was a reiteration of a faith "that gave meaning to human life" in a world without God. Robert Moats Miller's essay on "The Ku Klux Klan" is less revisionist than Carter's; it portrays the Klan not so much as an aberration as "the receptacle for nativist themes flowing from the American past." Joseph R. Gussfield concludes, in "Prohibition: The Impact of Political Utopianism," that the successful attack upon Prohibition reflected a shift from the Protestant ethic to moralities that valued consumption, leisure, camaraderie, and playfulness.

The late Frederick J. Hoffman, in his study of "Fiction of the Jazz Age," agrees that the period exhibited distinctive qualities, but warns that all of the fiction of the decade fails to fit our preconceptions. Gilman M. Ostrander's discussion of "The Revolution in Morals" argues that the urbanization of American morals was completed in the twenties. John Chynoweth Burnham's "The New Psychology: From Narcissism to Social Control" is one of the freshest articles in the collection. The new psychology supplied the technique by which modern bureaucracies manipulate individuals to curb antisocial behavior in civilized society. The final essay, "Metropolis and Suburb: The Changing American City," by Charles N. Glaab, elaborates the thesis developed by urban theorists of the twenties that urban-rural boundaries had disappeared; urban problems henceforth belonged to the nation.

If the 1920's actually do provide "a new historical frontier," we have here several explorers and pioneers. Some of the essayists blazed new trails; others widened paths already discovered. The volume is useful. It does not attempt, as did John D. Hicks in *The Republican Ascendancy, 1921-1933* (1960), or William E. Leuchtenburg in *The Perils of Prosperity, 1914-32* (1958), a narrative of the period; rather, it deals with historical problems about which the definitive word has not yet been written.

Stanford University

GEORGE HARMON KNOLES

SIT-DOWN IN ANDERSON: UAW LOCAL 663, ANDERSON, INDIANA. By Claude E. Hoffman. [Savoyard Book.] (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1968. Pp. 124. \$4.95.)

Sit-Down in Anderson is more than the history of a local labor union; it is the struggle for existence, recognition, and power of one of America's largest industrial unions, the UAW, as seen through the record of a local union. The drama begins in Anderson, Indiana, a typical midwestern city in the early thirties, when America's communities were in the depths of economic despair.

A few brave souls in Anderson discovered in the Delco-Remy and Guidelamp plants of the giant General Motors Corporation that it was difficult to obtain redress for grievances individually, or collectively, through craft unions or company unions. Their struggle for recognition and redress was a part of labor's national efforts to organize the automobile industry. When such national labor leaders as John L. Lewis, Homer Martin, Ed Hall, Walter Reuther, and others attempted to force General Motors to the conference table by means of sit-down strikes, dissension, factionalism, and violence resulted. The author himself, along with three others, was found guilty of creating

factionalism, but was exonerated by vote of the local membership.

Factionalism also permeated the International Union. Local 146 was so deeply entangled in the affairs of the International that the local died with the expulsion of the Homer Martin faction from the UAW. Out of its ashes arose the UAW-CIO Locals 662 and 663. Local 663 succeeded through the use of the ballot under the NLRB. World War II brought prosperity and increased membership to this local. Following the war it continued to prosper despite federal and state legislation, the Taft-Hartley Act and the "right to work" laws. As work conditions improved, strikes became less numerous, and the programs of the local became more community oriented.

Sit-Down in Anderson opens a new field of research and study in American history, the local union, but it is limited because it lacks a bibliography, an index, and adequate footnotes. However, the author, a former education director of the local, had firsthand information as a participant, and his study provides much information not only on local history but on the labor movement from the New Deal to the present.

Morris Harvey College

FRANK J. KREBS

SCOTTSBORO: A TRAGEDY OF THE AMERICAN SOUTH. By Dan T. Carter.
(Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1969. Pp. xiii, 431. \$10.00.)

Mr. Carter has an absorbing tale, and he tells it well. Nine Negro boys, ranging in age from twelve to nineteen, were removed from a Chattanooga to Memphis freight in the spring of 1931, taken to Scottsboro, Alabama, and there convicted of raping two white females who had been discovered on the train. Taken over by the Communist party and conducted by the brilliant trial lawyer, Samuel Leibowitz, the case went through numerous appeals and became an international *cause célèbre*. Enraged by the outside interference, Alabama authorities made a travesty of the judicial process. When one courageous judge declared that the evidence proved the innocence of the defendants (a point Carter puts beyond dispute), the case was transferred out of his jurisdiction, and he was defeated in his bid for re-election. Politicians treated the affair in the manner best calculated to further their careers, and a total of 120 jurors at one time or another handed down guilty verdicts because they had been reared to believe that accusations made by white women against Negro men were not to be questioned, even when, as in this case, the women were prostitutes with an interracial clientele. And, through all of this, the author keeps in focus the nine individual human beings whose lives were at stake.

The drama and rawness of the story never lead Carter into sensationalism, as they might a less disciplined author. Moreover, the impressive range and thoroughness of his research and a fine sensitivity to the larger setting make this case study a revealing insight into many major issues of the period. It forcefully illustrates the way in which sectional, class, and racial tensions, already heightened by the depression, could be exacerbated; and the role of the Communist party is judiciously appraised: the Communists, in Carter's view, were neither as sinister nor as opportunistic as their critics of the early cold war years believed them to be. Finally, this is a splendid example of how the study of a society's bizarre patterns of behavior may illuminate its limits and the assumptions upon which it rests. Thus, one sees here the case with which the protective coloring was removed from the southern ethos, starkly revealing its racial bedrock. With richness of detail, the rape complex and the *mystique* of sex are made credible, and one understands better than before how they paralyzed the southern capacity to think in rational patterns.

This is a distinguished first book, an exception to the rule that no one but the author gains from the early publication of doctoral dissertations.

University of Virginia

PAUL M. GASTON

GLOBAL LOGISTICS AND STRATEGY, 1943-1945. By *Robert W. Coakley* and *Richard M. Leighton*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The War Department.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, U. S. Army. 1968. Pp. xxiii, 889. \$10.50.)

FROM 1941 to 1945 the United States fought, for the first time, on a truly global scale. Material was limited, and so strategy had to be geared to what was available. The result was an unprecedented emphasis on the relationship of logistics and strategy. This is, then, the importance of this volume, the second on the subject by the authors, which carries the story from early 1943 to the victorious conclusion in Europe and Asia.

The major theme is that the absence of assault landing craft of all types constituted "the most persistent and restrictive single limitation" on strategy. The limitation came about because of the inability, or the refusal, of Americans to plan ahead and make industrial allocations accordingly: "The JCS simply did not face up to the problem. . . ." Another factor was the world-wide nature of the war. There could have been ample craft in Europe had it not been for the navy's war in the Pacific, but in Asia the American battleships and carriers drew supporting vessels to them like a magnet. What was especially frustrating to British and US Army officers was that everything concerning assault shipping hinged on the decisions of one man, Admiral Ernest King, head of the American Navy. "The most curious facet of the entire landing craft situation," the authors state, "is the extent to which these decisions on redistribution of a critical resource were not determined by the CCS in the light of over-all strategy or even by the JCS as a body, but by the U. S. Chief of Naval Operations."

There is a full discussion on lend-lease. Perhaps as an answer to New Left historians who charge that the USSR was mistreated by the Americans, with the climax coming when lend-lease shipments to Russia were stopped right after V-E Day, the authors insist that all countries were treated the same. Assignments of goods to Britain "came virtually to a standstill" after V-E Day, and the program to rearm the French ended. This reflected a broader philosophy. The Americans were determined to use their resources to fight the war; they would face political problems later. In no case—relations with the Russians, lend-lease, strategic planning—"did other than military considerations often govern." This detailed account of the strategic decisions of the last two years of the war, and of the logistic factors on which the decisions were based, supports the authors' main conclusion.

This volume marks the completion of the subseries on the War Department in the "U.S. Army in World War II" series. Like its predecessors, it is judiciously written, well organized, and a model of scholarly research and presentation.

Johns Hopkins University

STEPHEN E. AMBROSE

THE UNITED NATIONS AND UNITED STATES SECURITY POLICY. By *Ruth B. Russell*. (Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution. 1968. Pp. ix, 510. \$10.00.)

THIS book will find its place as a reliable reference work on relations between the United States and the United Nations. Its author is a recognized expert on the subject. She is to be commended for understanding, despite her unshaken belief in the ul-

timate success of the UN under its present charter, that the organization will prove of only limited utility in the foreseeable future. In Miss Russell's eyes, the UN merely mirrors the world as it is today—its idealism and its national myopia, its nobility and its barbarism. The author provides many constructive and sensible suggestions for the improvement of collective security in a world society rendered schizoid by present divisions. Her central thesis, however, is that the existing paralysis of the UN derives not from faults within its peace machinery but rather from the collective failure of the powers, great and small, to make sufficient sacrifices upon the altar of international stability.

Russell accepts the conventional interpretation of the cold war, which places far more guilt for its onset and protraction on Moscow than on Washington. She completely ignores the indictment of the New Left school of diplomatic historians against our postwar Presidents and their Secretaries of State. Possibly she prepared the manuscript for publication before the New Left arguments were widely broadcast. The book would be more helpful today, however, had she come to terms with the revisionist approach.

This is not to say that Russell has given her own country an entirely clean bill of health. While the bare statistics reveal that the United States did more to make the UN a success than other Great Powers, she argues that "comparative virtue" is not enough given the dire exigencies of the nuclear threat to civilization. In a cogent manner she points out that Washington's course since 1945 reversed the error of the 1920's: we joined the new world organization, but tried to free ourselves of our national obligation, as a prime power, to keep the peace during the early crucial years of the UN. In the fashion of most intellectuals, Russell displays more enthusiasm for the Korean War than for our present adventure in Vietnam.

Few will read this book for enjoyment. While the prose is clear, the narrative is repetitious, loosely organized, and sorely in need of a glossary for a handy check on the countless alphabetical agencies that are identified only the first time they are mentioned. Moreover, the author concentrates on the complex international power duels of the early 1960's, analyzing in meticulous detail situations that are stale as current events, yet not sufficiently ripe to be viewed in the proper historical perspective that only the passage of time and the availability of manuscript sources can truly provide.

State University of New York, Buffalo

SELIG ADLER

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.
LYNDON B. JOHNSON. CONTAINING THE PUBLIC MESSAGES,
SPEECHES, AND STATEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT, 1967. Volume I,
JANUARY 1 TO JUNE 30, 1967; Volume II, JULY 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 1967.
[Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, General
Services Administration.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1968.
Pp. lix, 670, A-78; liii, 671-1228, A-78. \$8.75; \$8.00.)

THE General Services Administration continues to provide students of recent American history with a useful body of source material. Initiated in 1957, the series of presidential messages and statements, of which these volumes are a part, now covers the period from the Truman administration through 1967, and a volume on the year 1968 is in preparation. (The National Historical Publications Commission has recently recommended that documents also be compiled for the administrations of Presidents Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt.)

There are 577 documents in the latest two volumes on the Johnson years, and in keeping with past policy they are arranged chronologically with a minimum of editorial comment. Likewise the appendixes continue to contain proclamations, executive orders, public letters, and a list of presidential reports to Congress, the Ninetieth in this case. Not everything a President says publicly is worth remembering, of course, but the GSA continues to include everything and asks us to be the judge. As in past volumes, presidential news conferences and brief speeches to various occupational and interest groups provide the deepest insight into the President's psyche, while the extensive budget messages and such contain the more formal rationalizations of presidential policy. The former are more intriguing and less burdensome to read, but the latter are not without interest. The 1,196 pages of text throw into relief several aspects of Lyndon Johnson and of the Johnson presidency. Of special note is the enormous force of the President's personality: his shifting moods of compassion, pride, self-pity, and exuberance, and the obviously enduring impact that the thirties and the New Deal had on the official for the National Youth Administration and young congressman from Texas, who, as President, expanded the progressive-New Deal reform tradition by extending health care and educational opportunity, two of his most passionate concerns. Striking, too, are the depth and sincerity of the President's belief in the promise of America, its uniqueness, its inevitable progress, and its democratic mission. Clearly this was Johnson's usable past, a past that shaped his vision of the future and that, as the years progressed, he increasingly used to justify his view of the present. Finally, one feels in these pages the pervasiveness of the Vietnamese War, that nagging presence clouding the entire Johnson presidency in 1967, slowly undermining the President's hopes and dreams for America, and probably his place in history as well.

University of Rochester

ROBERT D. CUFF

LES BOURGEOIS-GENTILSHOMMES DE LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE, 1729-1748. By *Cameron Nish*. Preface by *Eugene D. Genovese*. [Histoire économique et sociale du Canada français.] (Montreal: Fides. 1968. Pp. xxxix, 202.)

THE author states at the outset that his aim is to discover the nature of colonial society in New France, then declares his intention to define the "classe bourgeoise." After noting that the term "bourgeois" was never used in the modern sense in the colony, he sets out to prove that such a class existed, that it was numerous, powerful, and wealthy, and that it was the dominant group in the colony. If his terms of reference be accepted, then the Vikings, the Arabs of the ninth-century Abassid Empire, even the Iroquois confederacy, were bourgeois societies.

One point that the author does establish is that in the period under discussion Canada's export trade was much greater than is generally realized. He also maintains that the economy was dominated by a small privileged group of seigneurs, military officers, and officials, who must therefore be regarded as bourgeois, but he fails to establish just how large the group was, or exactly who composed it. Given that the colony's population was less than fifty thousand, the dominant group could not be very large. Moreover, the evidence he advances to prove some of his assertions tends, in fact, to prove the opposite. Nor does he inspire confidence when he pours scorn on historians who have attempted to equate the purchasing power of the livre in present-day currency, then declares that this livre was the equivalent of a Canadian quarter; or when he declares that in the 1730's the French livre was worth 25 per cent more than the Canadian livre,

ignoring the fact that in 1717 this premium on French currency was eliminated; or when he advances as proof of speculation in land the sale of a seigneurie twenty-five years after purchase.

In his final paragraph Mr. Nish explains that the group under study were referred to in eighteenth-century Canada as both "bourgeois" and "gentilhomme," but always with a comma, never a hyphen. In a footnote he refers to the 1744 census of Quebec. In that census one resident of the town is described, not as "bourgeois, gentilhomme," but as "gentilhomme, bourgeois." Over fifty are described as *négociants*, seven as *marchands*, two as bourgeois. Neither of these two bourgeois is listed in Nish's index; neither is the lonely "gentilhomme, bourgeois."

University of Toronto

W. J. ECCLES

THE MACKENZIE KING RECORD. Volume II, 1944-1945. By J. W. Pickersgill and D. F. Forster. ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 495. \$12.50.)

THIS second volume of a three-volume study of the Mackenzie King era is based almost completely on King's diaries, that is, on his own unrevised record of events. The authors have only provided connecting passages for any necessary background and corrected any obvious mistakes in names and spelling. They emphasize that the book is not a biography of King, or a history of his times, but an attempt to present important political events of the period as King saw them. King himself referred to the diaries as "the record," hence the title of the book.

This volume covers the period from King's return to Canada after the London meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in May 1944 until the end of the war with Japan in September 1945. Undoubtedly the most interesting chapters in the book deal with the conscription crisis of 1944. Because of the sharp cleavage between Quebec and the rest of Canada over the question of conscripting home defense troops for service overseas, this issue came very close to splitting the cabinet and the Liberal party in two. King even saw the possibility of the breaking up of Confederation or civil war. His description of the heated discussions within the cabinet, the serious differences between cabinet ministers, and their intrigues and maneuvering provide us with information never available before. King also makes critical evaluations of the personalities of his associates, and of their ability and integrity. Not least of all, the diaries provide considerable insight into the personality of King himself.

One other aspect of the book that should be mentioned is its important contribution to an understanding of how cabinet government really functions. For instance, the principle that cabinet ministers must not divulge what happens at their meetings was not always as rigidly adhered to as we generally assume. King certainly felt that some cabinet ministers did not take their oath of secrecy as seriously as they should have.

In spite of the statement by the authors that this book is not a history of the times, it is an indispensable source of information for all students of contemporary Canadian history. As the book jacket correctly states, "it makes accessible large uninterrupted sections of a diary, whose copiousness, accuracy and human interest make it a document unique in Canadian history." One can only hope that the third volume in this series will make equally fascinating reading.

Sir George Williams University

HERBERT F. QUINN

SPANISH POLICY IN COLONIAL CHILE: THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE, 1535-1700. By *Eugene H. Korth, S. J.* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 320. \$8.50.)

FATHER Korth sets out to illustrate the thesis that the principal cause of resistance to the Spanish conquest by the Araucanian Indians was the harsh treatment meted out to them by their conquerors. The author demonstrates that this mistreatment, whether in the form of enslavement, forced labor, or debt slavery, violated royal legislation. Spanish laws designed to protect the Araucanians had deep roots in the classical and Catholic traditions of Europe, and they were shaped by practical considerations of problems on the Chilean frontier. Though the legislation varied at times, the imperial vision of the Castilian kings was one of all subjects living under royal law. This book describes how the metropolitan view of colonial government was sabotaged by the colonists. The short-term interests of greedy encomenderos profited from the rivalry between administrative agents in Chile, the control they had over day-to-day affairs, and the distance of the Chilean frontier from the seat of royal power and viceregal authority in Lima.

A chapter on the Spanish experience with the Indians in New Spain and Peru serves to highlight the distinctive problems of Chile. This region lacked precious metals, and its native peoples were thinly spread out and hostile when the Spaniards confronted them with a life of slavery or other forms of compulsory labor. The core of the book is built around a sequence of events and biographies of colonial Chile. Although figures of both Church and state carry the story, the arguments of the central chapters (v-viii) concentrate exclusively upon the Jesuit contribution to the struggle for justice for the Indians. Members of the order arrived in Chile in 1593; they were not in time to prevent the great Indian uprising of 1598, but they could at least learn from it. After the failure of early Spanish Indian policy, they built a program of "peaceful penetration" (Torres Bollo) and, later, a "defensive frontier" (Luis de Valdivia). Clerics and administrators appear alongside large-scale grafters such as the Salazar brothers of the Chilean army. The author draws the picture of the frontier in all its complexity, and he finds his sources on both sides of the Atlantic. Chapter x, entitled "Emancipation Decreed and Deferred," is the sad coda of the struggle for justice for the Indians in Chile before 1700. A final assessment, called "Balancing the Books," carries a lesson for the day and fits the work into the wide frame of reference established at the beginning of the book.

Chile's colonial history is better known to readers of Spanish than that of other regions of Latin America because exceptional source collections and classic works are available. This book brings those who read English abreast of the pertinent literature. New studies concerning economic and sociolegal aspects of Indian life on the Chilean frontier are now being published, including those by A. Jara and M. Salvat Monguillot. The struggle for justice emerges in one book typically as Spain's record of "legislative illusion," which suggests a different view of the same subject.

Korth's book exactly answers its title, and the careful organization of material is complemented by a lucid style. The book is well made and endowed with helpful notes, an up-to-date bibliography, a chronology, and a glossary of Spanish and Indian terms.

Yale University

URSULA LAMB

EL INCA: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF GARCILASO DE LA VEGA. By *John Grier Verner*. [The Texas Pan American Series.] (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 413. \$10.00.)

AT a time when racism is universally condemned, this superbly written biography has a special appropriateness. The Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega, graphically illustrates the merging in the New World of two races as represented by the Indian and the Spaniard. He was truly the first great mestizo. Of illegitimate birth—typical of this amalgam in the sixteenth century—and the offspring of an aristocratic Spanish captain and an Inca princess, he was a perceptive witness of the destruction of the native civilization and the imposition of the Iberian culture. In presenting this turbulent era in Peru, the author has woven a rich tapestry of events and personalities. To this he has added a description of Spain during the reigns of the Prudent King and the Picture King, for, as a young man, Garcilaso journeyed to Spain to seek favor at the court. The remainder of his life, over five decades, was spent in or near Córdoba. Despite brief participation in the campaign against the Moriscos, he was primarily an observer rather than a protagonist. The rejection of his suit in Madrid and the numerous slights that he received from his contemporaries gave him a deep sense of frustration and inferiority. Paradoxically, his racial consciousness was the principal motivation for the preparation of one of the significant accounts of the greatest Indian civilization of South America. He was indeed “the everlasting and lyric quipucamayú of the lost Inca realm of Tahuantinsuyu.”

Although the author is a teacher of English literature, he knows the techniques of historical research. In delineating this remarkable figure, he has risen to the occasion. There are few sources either in Spain or Peru that he has not consulted. One may, however, criticize his undue reliance on Garcilaso's own interpretation of events. For this reason the Peruvian viceroys, the Marqués de Cañete and Francisco de Toledo, regarded today as capable administrators, fare badly. The author's treatment is thus occasionally more literary than historical. There are aspects of Garcilaso's career that remain obscure. Why was the first part of the *Comentarios reales* dedicated to Catalina of Portugal, duquesa de Braganza, rather than to the Spanish sovereign? What was his connection with this family? But these strictures should not detract from an appreciation of the fine qualities of this study. To date, it is the best biography of this extraordinary personage. Students of colonial Latin American history and literature are indebted to the author and his linguistically proficient wife for a scholarly and sympathetic portrayal of an eloquent supplicant for racial toleration and equality.

Louisiana State University

J. PRESTON MOORE

CORONADO'S FRIARS. By *Angelico Chavez, O.F.M.* [Publications of the Academy of American Franciscan History. Monograph Series, Volume VIII.] (Washington, D.C.: the Academy. 1968. Pp. xx, 106. \$6.50.)

IN this outstanding work Father Angelico Chavez has clarified one of the most obscure aspects of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado's expedition in search of a “new” Mexico: the number and identity of the Franciscans who accompanied it. He has resolved four centuries of confusions and contradictions that remained even after the publication of the *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition* by Hammond and Rey (1940) and Bolton's *Coronado on the Turquoise Trail* (1949). Five friars made the journey to Cíbola. Three, Fray Juan de Padilla, Fray Antonio de Castilblanco, and Fray Juan de la Cruz, were ordained priests; two, Fray Luis de Úbeda and Fray Daniel

the Italian, were lay brothers. Chavez has proved that Brother Úbeda, not Father Cruz, was the lay brother who, with Padilla, remained behind in the north. It is unlikely that we shall ever know whether his pious hope of martyrdom was fulfilled, but it is belated justice that this humble and exemplary friar should at long last receive due recognition.

In addition to reconstructing the lives and achievements of Coronado's friars, Chavez recapitulates the story of the expedition and their part in it. As he points out, their contemporaries considered it a colossal failure, and the authorities, both lay and ecclesiastical, imposed "a shame-faced silence" about it.

This official reticence, the accretion of folklore and legend attached to half-forgotten facts, the tendency of chroniclers to copy one another uncritically, to say nothing of watering "the wine of one cup to fill two"—all this means that Chavez' attempt to solve an old problem was no easy task. He has performed it admirably, returning to the sources and formulating his conclusions on the basis of meticulous textual comparison and critical evaluation. In so doing he has produced a model of historical research and interpretation, written, in spite of its weighty annotations, in a style not only readable but fascinating.

University of New Mexico

ELEANOR B. ADAMS

LA INMIGRACIÓN ALEMANA AL ESTADO SOBERANO DE SANTANDER EN EL SIGLO XIX: REPERCUSIONES SOCIO-ECONÓMICAS DE UN PROCESO DE TRANSCULTURACIÓN. By *Horacio Rodríguez Plata*. (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly. 1968. Pp. 273.)

THIS book presents copious documentation on the small but significant German colony in the northeastern Colombian state of Santander. It is prepared in a traditional narrative style and has both the merits and deficiencies of its genre.

Few Germans ever migrated to Colombia. Evidence for that observation is contained in the exhaustive summaries of migration data prepared by Walter Willcox for the National Bureau for Economic Research in the 1920's. Data on German migration, which lump Colombia together with other South American countries, would indicate that only about fifteen Germans per year migrated to that country from 1882 to 1903—the years for which some scraps of data are available. This tiny flow contrasts starkly with massive German migration to other parts of the Americas, particularly the US, Brazil, and Argentina.

Nonetheless, the few Germans in Colombia played a significant role in the development of the country. Emil Kopp and his brother Leo began their commercial activities in Santander; later they were to found Bavaria, the country's largest brewery. Today it is the largest manufacturing establishment in Colombia. Salomón Koppel also figured prominently among the Germans in Santander. He became the first director-general of the *Banco de Bogotá*, which was the first successful banking enterprise of domestic origin in the country. Today the *Banco* is the largest bank in Colombia and one of the largest in Latin America. Small numbers did not limit the importance of Germans in the economic development of Colombia.

In addition to bringing together information on German immigrants, this work considers some problems of social change peculiar to the region. In the eighteenth century Santander was already an important producer of textile products in cottage industries. Rodríguez Plata emphasizes the evolution of the *Sociedades Democráticas*

or artisan guilds in the nineteenth century. He also uncovers new information on Indian resistance to expansion by highlanders into the river lowlands.

Although this book might better have digested the original source material, it is certainly a useful addition to the literature on nineteenth-century Colombian social history.

University of California, Berkeley

WILLIAM PAUL MCGREEVEY

BERNARDO O'HIGGINS AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF CHILE. By *Stephen Clissold*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1969. Pp. 254. \$6.50.)

WHILE José de San Martín and Simón Bolívar are generally recognized as great liberators in Spanish America's struggle for independence, another illustrious warrior, Bernardo O'Higgins, is little known among English-speaking peoples. Stephen Clissold hopes to correct that deficiency in this volume. His study focuses on O'Higgins' participation in the independence movement with only a cursory glance at his life prior to the war and a brief description of his exiled years in Peru following his stint as Supreme Director of Chile. O'Higgins emerges from the book as a thoroughly human individual who was occasionally naïve and at times given to poor judgments, but, in general, he displayed an intelligent, sensitive, and kind personality. He hesitated when offered army commands because of his lack of martial training, but, once thrust into positions of responsibility, he enjoyed some success, not as a result of any sudden battlefield brilliance but rather because of his audacity and personal courage. Throughout his early life, his one great passion was independence for Chile and for America. He subordinated everything else to that goal.

One surprise in the book, since the title does not suggest it, is the large amount of space devoted to Bernardo's father, Ambrosio O'Higgins. This becomes understandable and justifiable as Clissold traces the effects of the father-son relationship on Bernardo's personality. Because Ambrosio ignored his son's pleas for guidance, the younger O'Higgins sought close friendships with his military and political associates, friendships that at times blinded him to the weaknesses of these men.

Clissold has constructed his study from material in the *Archivo O'Higgins*, supplemented with works by Chilean historians on O'Higgins and the era of independence. In addition, he has enriched his description of nineteenth-century Chile by consulting accounts left by contemporary English travelers in that country. While this volume will provide the historian with little that is new in O'Higgins' career, it is written in an attractive, interesting style, and it admirably fulfills the author's objective of providing an account of O'Higgins' life for the general English-reading audience.

Bowling Green State University

JACK RAY THOMAS

LA INVASIÓN DE LOS INDIOS BÁRBAROS AL NORESTE DE MÉXICO EN LOS AÑOS DE 1840 Y 1841. Edited by *Isidro Viscaya Canales*. [Publicaciones del Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey. Series: Historia, Number 7. Materiales para la etnohistoria del Noreste de México, Number 2.] (Monterrey: [the Instituto.] 1968. Pp. xi, 296, 3 maps.)

BEGINNING in the fall of 1840 and continuing on into the spring of 1841, the Mexican department of Nuevo León was the victim, along with other northeastern Mexican frontier areas, of a series of Comanche Indian raids that wreaked untold hardship and loss of life on the men, women, and children of the region and

destroyed the cattle and horses on which they depended for their livelihood. The local authorities were handicapped in dealing with this savage Indian warfare by their lack of funds and the difficulty of getting the central government in Mexico City to take their problems seriously. The military forces available to them were already occupied by a federalist insurrection led by Licenciado Antonio Canales and by the dangers of attack from the republic of Texas.

In this volume Isidro Vizcaya Canales has brought together the references to these Indian raids that appeared in the *Semanario Político del Gobierno de Nuevo León*. They consist of reports from the local authorities in towns attacked by the Indians, reports by the leading military officers, including General Mariano Arista, the commander of the Army of the North, and newspaper editorials on the subject. In his introduction the editor attempts to give a brief summary of the background to the raids and to explain why they occurred at this time. In a six-page epilogue he outlines the situation on the frontier until 1886.

This compilation may be commended as a useful addition to our knowledge of the Comanches and of the history of Nuevo León. It also provides an interesting comparison with the history of Indian warfare in the southwestern United States. The editor endeavors to furnish information in footnotes on the careers of the more prominent military officers and civilians mentioned in the documents. Maps are provided to give the routes of the raids, and there are a bibliography and an index.

University of Virginia

C. ALAN HUTCHINSON

HISTÓRIA DO SUPREMO TRIBUNAL FEDERAL. Volume II, DEFESA DO FEDERALISMO (1899-1910). By *Lêda Boechat Rodrigues*. [Retratos do Brasil, Volume XXXVIII A.] ([Rio de Janeiro:] Civilização Brasileira. 1968. Pp. 242.)

In the first installment of this series on Brazilian constitutional history (*AHR*, LXXI [Apr. 1966], 1107), Dr. Rodrigues analyzed in scholarly fashion the hectic beginnings of the Supreme Federal Tribunal, so frequently the victim of powerful executive pressures. This second volume deals with the institution's evolution in the relative peace of the dozen years that followed. After an introduction that outlines the major conclusions of the work, the author elaborates upon ten separate topics. The key chapters concern some aspects of federalism versus nationalism, habeas corpus, and church and state. Despite the court's weaknesses—the lack of a quorum was frequent—and its pusillanimous decisions on occasion, it consistently rejected the notion of dual sovereignty and the unwarranted political actions of state governors. It firmly supported the nation's public health program in the face of claims that individual rights were being violated, and it insisted upon its right to settle interstate territorial disputes. On habeas corpus, the tribunal's record was fairly consistent with only a few aberrations.

Based on extensive documentation, both manuscript and printed, this study is a significant contribution to the field. It contains, moreover, a special chapter in the appendix that provides excellent biobibliographical sketches of the judges who served from 1899 to 1910. The "Giants" among them were Pedro Lessa, Alberto Tôrres, Amaro Cavalcânti, and Epitácio Pessoa. The presentation might have gained had the author woven into her story more of the political highlights of the day, thereby providing a meaningful perspective to her major topics. Her third volume, dealing with habeas corpus in the troubled years from 1910 to 1930, should also be welcome.

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MARIO RODRÍGUEZ

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British Commonwealth and Ireland

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* * * * * *Communications* * * * * *

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I regard Joseph H. Smith's review of my book, *Origins of the Fifth Amendment: The Right against Self-Incrimination* (AHR, LXXIV [Dec. 1968], 700), as unfair and misleading. I think he was irked because I criticized his friend and colleague, Julius Goebel. Garbling Goebel, as he so frequently garbles me, Smith observes that I take "violent exception" to Goebel's conclusion "that in colonial New York the privilege [against self-incrimination] was an exotic of Westminster." Goebel's conclusion, rather, was that the "privilege" was unknown in colonial New York. I proved that he was wrong, a fact that Smith ignores. He objects to my calling the "privilege" a right, "Hohfeld notwithstanding," but ignores my distinction between privileges and rights as well as my point that this "privilege" has the same constitutional standing as other rights (*none* of which Hohfeld would have called a right) that we do not degrade by calling them privileges.

Smith makes space for a long quotation from J. F. Stephen who acknowledged an unsuccessful search for authorities in support of the proposition that "it would be illegal to interrogate the prisoner," and Smith uses the quotation against me by alleging that I have been no more successful than Stephen—thus ignoring my elaborate analysis of English legal treatises and implying that I have little fresh to say. But the quotation is a red herring because I prove, at length, that there never was a right on the part of the prisoner to be free from interrogation. As early as the sixteenth century, however, there was a right not to answer incriminating interrogatories. Smith claims that my evidence for recognition of the "privilege" by the common-law courts is based on cases of the Restoration period. Having thus ignored my analysis of sixteenth-century cases and my conclusion that well *before* the Restoration the right was recognized by the common-law courts, he expresses surprise (no wonder!) that the "privilege" was not a subject of dispute later.

Smith next implies that I did not use manuscripts in the Public Record Office. I used them and reported my findings. Doubtless my research was imperfect. If Smith can cite specific manuscripts that will actually yield relevant evidence, I shall be grateful. But he seems less interested in serving the cause of scholarship than in making artfully derogatory insinuations. He claims that in my final three chapters, covering America through the ratification of the Fifth Amendment, I made "little use of the abundant manuscript sources." Which? I could not find many relevant manuscript data and said so. Until he comes up with them, I regard as unfounded his point that my research was thin.

He says that the maxim, *nemo tenetur prodere seipsum* (no man is bound to accuse himself), appeared in justice manuals "as early as 1588" and asks what effect that had—as if I had not discussed the subject at length. I did, and, incidentally, the date should be 1583. He does not mention that I prove that the common-law judges used the maxim as early as 1580, earlier than had been believed. He says that I start my account of trials with that of Lambert in "1537" (but it was 1532) and end with the trials of Lilburne in the mid-seventeenth century. In fact, my review of cases begins with the thirteenth century and ends at least a century after Lilburne.

Smith's concluding paragraph stresses that I have turned up little that is new in my chapters on America (one hundred pages), thereby disappointing "most" American lawyers and legal historians. I doubt that he speaks for most of them. Before my account of the American backgrounds, the standard treatment, cited by the Supreme Court and legal historians, was a brief and unreliable article of 1935. Smith does not compare my chapters with that article to determine my contribution. In view of the fact that the book has been highly praised by a number of distinguished lawyers, judges, and historians, I wonder whether it can be quite as bad as Smith makes it out. He is, himself, an excellent legal historian, but, in the instance of this review, a mischievous one.

Brandeis University

LEONARD W. LEVY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It was with a mounting sense of dismay that I read Mr. Hackney's article on violence and the southerner (*AHR*, LXXIV [Feb. 1969], 906-25). The social science journals are understandably littered with the broken spears of futile attempts to reduce to arithmetic the complexities of human society. That the precious pages of the *Review* should be devoted to such material, however, is discouraging indeed. Even so, I should like to offer one or two insights in which the article seems most noticeably lacking.

One gathers that the reader is expected to accept, at the outset, that the prejudice (for that is what it is, justified or not) that southern whites are more violent than other whites is widely held. The reader is then informed that the suicide-homicide ratio is an accepted measure of such propensity. We are allowed to conclude that one rate—the homicide rate, for example—is high *because* the other rate is low. No evidence is adduced to support such a position, and indeed a good case can be made for the idea that homicide and self-destruction are not functionally related at all. (Unfortunately, it is probable that an equally good case can be made that they are. This is the trouble with the social "sciences.") On the contrary, most of the article is devoted to a dutiful elimination of factors that might explain the excessive violence of white southerners on other than moral grounds.

Mr. Hackney's research would have been greatly enriched by interviews with experienced police officers who would have told him that crime rates are much greater in clement than in inclement weather, for the obvious reason that criminality requires mobility, and even first-degree murderers do not like to go out in bad weather. There is said to be a strong correlation between the average number of sunny, mild days and the crime rate. Barry Goldwater learned this about his home state during the campaign of 1964, when his attempt to pin the violence label on the North backfired. In fact, the states of Arizona and Florida, neither of which can be considered particularly southern, reveal homicide rates in Mr. Hackney's own data that are far above the other southern states.

Climate and geographical location also appear to bear heavily on suicide rates. Mr. Hackney should reread the plays of Ibsen. He might profit from studying the mood of desperation in the aria, "Must the Winter Come So Soon," from Samuel Barber's *Vanessa*, which is set in an unidentified Northern European country. He might reflect on whether Shakespeare could have had the melancholy Dane consider non-existence on the banks of the Chattahoochee.

That southerners have long since come to expect this kind of flagellation from the North is all too true. In a sense, Mr. Hackney has proved his point about the origins

of southern mistrust of the North merely by writing his article. Whether the author is himself northern or southern, white or black, is beside the point. This is not intended as an *ad hominem* criticism. The point is not the psychology of the author but the extreme salability of his material.

I doubt that you will get much criticism from southerners, however, which is unfortunate. It is time that some good-natured attempts were made to devise similar sociological measures of the North's propensity to bait the South. The wit that creates such barbs as "the Smith and Wesson line" needs to be countered with the observation that from the South it looks more like the Sado-Masochism line. Since it probably will not be so countered, however, it is time to stop this one-sided game. Enough, already!

Bethel, Connecticut

ALERO MARTIN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I will concede that the South has no monopoly on sin if Mr. Martin will grant that it has no monopoly on sunshine. Despite his remarks about prejudice, I assume that Mr. Martin recognizes that southern whites are relatively violent and that he believes that weather and climate explain this irrefutable fact. I did not statistically control for climate, nor for the quality of law enforcement, and I invite Mr. Martin or anyone else to extend the analysis to these dimensions. I doubt that weather will prove to be a very satisfactory explanation, however. That the murder rate in a particular place varies over time with the temperature is undoubtedly true, but it is not so evident that the murder rate from place to place varies with the mean annual temperature of the places independent of other factors. Mr. Martin points to the fact that suicide is more frequent in bleak winter months (thus tacitly accepting the psychological linkage between intropunitive and extrapunitive behavior that he explicitly criticizes), but suicide rates as well as murder rates are extremely high in Florida and Arizona! We will not get very far with single-factor analysis or with literary allusions, as fond of them as I am myself.

Nevertheless, I did not intend my article to be a demonstration that quantitative analysis can explain everything. My major conclusion, in fact, is that southern violence cannot be explained by such quantifiable factors as economic development (or weather), but that the answer might be found in the overly defensive and hostile nature of the southern world view. I am pleased that Mr. Martin's letter supports my thesis.

Princeton University

SHELDON HACKNEY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Roger A. Fischer's article on "Racial Segregation in Ante Bellum New Orleans" (*AHR*, LXXIV [Feb. 1969], 926-37) argues, by investigating ante bellum race relations in New Orleans, that the roots of modern racial segregation lay in the slave system. His major premise appears to be that the "Woodward thesis" suggesting the "relative recency" of segregation is wrong. Yet Professor Fischer does not investigate the nature of race relations in the post-Civil War era, or the forces contributing thereto, and essentially rests his case on the traditional proposition that the redeemers (presumably Bourbons) hastily restored the ante bellum social and economic structure. His study suggests that even under the slave regime there were many exceptions to the rule of rigid segregation, and Negroes sometimes enjoyed an "unusual scope of freedom."

Only under the approaching clouds of war did the color line "harden." There is little demonstrated connection between ante bellum slavery and modern segregation.

While segregation certainly existed in ante bellum society and in the later "New South," segregation in Louisiana did not exist in either era as a permanent and thorough system of race relations. We respectfully call Professor Fischer's attention to our study of "Race Relations in Louisiana, 1877-98" (*Louisiana History*, IX [Fall 1968], 301-23), which concurs fully with Professor Comer Vann Woodward that the "place" of the Negro in Louisiana had not been fixed before 1890 and before the advent of "Jim Crow" legislation. The admitted presence of latent and sometimes overt racism did not alone clamp the Negro in a rigid and thoroughgoing caste system. As Woodward maintains, it was only after 1890 that genuine segregation was "consciously and deliberately applied to all possible areas of contact between the races" and that the "code became a hard-and-fast dogma of the white race."

University of Southwestern Louisiana

HENRY C. DETHLOFF
ROBERT R. JONES

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In response to the rather curious comments offered by Henry C. Dethloff and Robert R. Jones on my article "Racial Segregation in Ante Bellum New Orleans," I would like to make a few observations. Their claim that I have argued that "the roots of modern racial segregation lay in the slave system" is altogether inaccurate. As the article made quite clear, formal segregation did not develop before the Civil War in rural areas where plantation slavery operated effectively. It did evolve, however, in ante bellum New Orleans, where the presence of unusually assertive free Negroes and the breakdown of the slavery system created a decidedly unique situation.

Dethloff and Jones also assert that I have based my argument on "the traditional proposition that the redeemers (presumably Bourbons) hastily restored the ante bellum social and economic structure." In truth, I have rested my case upon a rather substantial body of primary evidence from the ante bellum period itself, drawn from such sources as law codes, police reports, diaries, and newspaper accounts. If Dethloff and Jones wish to challenge my findings in a responsible manner, they must first do one of two things. They may prove my sources fictitious, fallacious, inconsequential, or misinterpreted. Their alternative would be to find equal or superior evidence on which to base their challenge. Until they have done one or the other, they really have little to add to a cogent discussion on the ante bellum origins of racial segregation.

I would add that my article was not so much an attack on the "Woodward thesis" as it was a rejection of certain dogmatic Woodwardian disciples who have set forth such patent nonsense as "Racial segregation in the Old South had been unknown." If I may judge from the second revised edition of *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, both C. Vann Woodward and I accept an evolutionary concept of segregation in the South. I have stressed its ante bellum manifestations, while Woodward has emphasized its later expression in the state statutes. To distort this delicate difference into a latter-day "irreconcilable conflict" adds little light to our common quest for an understanding of the genesis of "Jim Crow."

Southwest Missouri State College

ROGER A. FISCHER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I am amused by Professor P. H. Hardacre's careless review (*AHR*, LXXIV [Feb.

1969], 980) of my book, *Charles Middleton: The Life and Times of a Restoration Politician* (careless: I found nothing on my subject's youth in "estate documents," though something on his income in his middle twenties).

I observe, however, two of his failures to take my points, which may mislead readers concerning the book's attempt to relate not only Middleton's life and career but the issues of domestic and foreign policy of the 1680's and how they were handled.

First, Professor Hardacre remarks that the "general picture of English [foreign] policy is not notably altered, as the major theme, relations with Louis XIV, was the responsibility of Sunderland"—the other Secretary of State. Relations between James II and the Dutch, including William III of Orange, were quite as important as those between James and Louis XIV in the period immediately preceding a *Dutch* expedition against England in 1688. The Dutch Netherlands were in Middleton's department. A careful reading of my book would have revealed the worsening of tempers over such problems as pursuit of English political fugitives, which made most Dutchmen supporters of William (some would otherwise have opposed him) and made James and his friends William's enemies.

I do not know what Professor Hardacre's "general picture" of James II's foreign policy may be. I do know that it is commonly taught that James was a slavish Francophile or little better. (See David Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III* [1957].) My handling of James's policy is in sharp contrast, and it is based on the reading of all the State Papers Foreign for the time, besides many other manuscript sources, not only for the Northern Department but the Southern Department as well. If Professor Hardacre has anticipated that work and my conclusions, I would like to know.

Professor Hardacre strangely lists among what he calls the routine issues with which Middleton was concerned the choice of a successor to the Elector of Cologne, which was the precipitating cause of the War of the League of Augsburg (1688-1697).

Second, Professor Hardacre writes, "In 1680, for parliamentary purposes, Charles II made a gesture toward an alliance against France, and Middleton was sent as envoy extraordinary to Emperor Leopold I." That is not quite what I wrote. Of course, Charles II hardly ever did anything important without an eye to Parliament's reaction, but in 1680 he was seriously seeking to construct a series of alliances (not one alliance). He failed to achieve his goal because some of the hoped for allies, such as Emperor Leopold, thought such a proposal useless while Charles was at odds with Parliament.

By now everyone knows ploys to set the reviewer above the author: mention of a title not listed in a bibliography (my bibliography was thirteen pages long without padding) and expressions of regret that the author did not tell some story tangential to that he set out to tell. Knowing them, I cannot take them seriously. When Professor Hardacre writes his own book on Middleton, he is free to pad the bibliography as much as he would like and tell any story he chooses to tell.

Eastern Illinois University

GEORGE HILTON JONES

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

James II was not a slavish Francophile, and Professor Jones has fully described Middleton's role in the Northern Department of the secretaryship. Whether these transactions were as important as those with France and whether the author has notably altered the general picture that the overriding concern of the King to reintroduce Catholicism

governed his actions and bound him to Louis XIV seem to me to be matters of interpretation.

The same is true for Charles II's real intentions in the abortive treaty negotiations of 1680. How far those negotiations represented the act of a monarch bent on checking Louis XIV and how far they were (as the ministry is said to have thought they were) useful to deceive Parliament seem to me to be matters on which different interpretations are legitimate.

In responding to Professor Jones's complaint, however, and notwithstanding his remarks about ploys and padding, it is appropriate to add that the review in question made clear that he has gone much farther than previous writers and that his book represents a distinct contribution.

Vanderbilt University

P. H. HARDACRE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In a highly subjective review (*AHR*, LXXIII [Feb. 1969], 1019) which begins by questioning my scholarly honesty and concludes by accusing me of "confirming prejudices," Professor Simon distorts the basic arguments in my book, *The German Conception of History*, and then holds me responsible for the oversimplifications he has created.

A careful reading of my book would not have permitted Professor Simon to describe the work as another "version, perhaps more sophisticated, of the 'From Luther (or Hegel, or Bismarck, or Nietzsche) to Hitler' approach to recent German history. . . ." The book makes it quite clear that a fundamental break existed between the historians in the classical tradition of German historiography—in contrast to some of the more radical social theorists in the historicist tradition—and the Nazis, a much sharper break than K. F. Werner, for example, sees in his recent *Das NS Geschichtsbild und die deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft* (1967). I am interested, as should be clear from reading Chapter VIII, much more in the failure of Weimar than in the rise of the Nazis. For this reason, as I explain in the preface, I purposely omitted a discussion of Nazi historiography that does not belong in a treatment of the classical national tradition of historiography.

I do, however, maintain, as Professor Simon correctly quotes me, that "the classical national tradition of German historicism undoubtedly contributed to the atmosphere that facilitated the rise of an authoritarian regime." But Professor Simon conveniently fails to quote the following sentence which sharply distinguishes the national tradition of historiography from the *völkisch* ideology of official Nazi historiography. Professor Simon speaks of the "alleged" relation I establish between the political and historiographical views of the historians I discuss and accuses me—at least in my interpretation of Humboldt's and Ranke's political views—of having been "too much influenced" by the secondary literature rather than the sources. There is little doubt, however, about the antidemocratic orientation of the great majority of historians in the classical tradition of German historiography, as my evidence, which Professor Simon does not challenge effectively at any single point, substantiates. The historians themselves have stated their views clearly enough, and recent studies such as Werner's above-mentioned essay and M. C. Brands, *Historisme als Ideologie* (1965), have reached conclusions similar to mine. The contribution of my book thus does not lie in the well-acknowledged observation that the historians in the classical tradition were for the most part hostile to political democracy but, rather, in presenting a comprehensive study of the continuity

of German historical and historiographical thought from the early nineteenth century to the present. By examining the underlying philosophical assumptions and political values of the historians in the main German tradition of academic history, the book seeks to study these historians within the broader framework of German intellectual history and to consider their place in the development of political irrationalism and anti-democratic attitudes.

Nor is my treatment of German classical historicism as one-sidedly negative as Professor Simon makes it appear. The book stresses the role of German classical historicism in developing methodologies suitable to history and the cultural sciences generally and concludes "that the tradition of classical historicism will continue to form an important part of the heritage of German historical scholarship, and rightly so." It does, however, observe that its distrust of all generalizations, its narrow conception of society, and its antidemocratic values restricted the ability of classical German historical scholarship to understand historical reality—particularly under the conditions of a modern democratic, technological society—more severely than was the case in broad currents of French and American historical scholarship in the twentieth century. There is nothing new about this observation, which is supported not only by younger German historians but also by historians of the middle generation—Schieder, Conze, Wagner—who increasingly look to Max Weber, Otto Hintze, and the French *Annales* school for models of generalization and structural analysis suited to historical study. Professor Simon reproachfully quotes my remark that "historicism carried into a technological and scientific age a conception of society and a methodology better suited to the study of certain aspects of the politics and the intellectual life of a predemocratic age," but conveniently fails to quote the positive assessment of German classical historicism that precedes it. Indeed, Professor Simon is cavalier with my arguments throughout the review. He quotes my reference to Troeltsch out of context. My arguments for "directional development" are much more complex than they appear in his review. I am not certain on what Simon based his observation that "Iggers . . . appears to favor a straightforward correspondence theory of truth."

In concluding that "historicism, though originating and most concentrated in Germany, is better analyzed in the context of universal historiographical problems than as a phenomenon characteristic of any one country," Professor Simon makes a statement that is basically right, but misses the point of the book. For this book, as Professor Simon must clearly have known, is not a study of historicism but of one specific form of historicism, the German national tradition of historical scholarship, which must be understood within the context of the peculiar political and social history of Germany in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The book seeks, nevertheless, to study this tradition in a European context from "the divergence of German historical thought from the main patterns of European thought at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century" to the "return of broad segments of German opinion to the main streams of Western thought in the years since 1945."

It may be of interest that a German version of the book is being published by a major German publisher of scholarly paperbacks.

State University of New York, Buffalo

GEORG G. IGGERS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Thank you for sending me a copy of Professor Iggers' letter and offering me equal space to reply. I shall try to be briefer than that.

Let me begin with the most general and important point: what I referred to in my review as Iggers' "hostility to his subject." In his letter Iggers merely confirms that this hostility is as politically motivated as I had suspected and suggested: he seeks to consider the historicists' "place in the development of political irrationalism and anti-democratic attitudes." I made no attempt to "challenge" the evidence (not new with Iggers, as he says) as to "the antidemocratic orientation of the great majority of historians in the classical tradition of German historiography"; what I challenged is the legitimacy of scolding them for it, and its relevance to their historiographical accomplishment. Iggers admits that he is "interested . . . in the failure of Weimar," and in his emphasis on such men as Jünger and Heidegger as agents of that failure by promoting an "anarchy of values" Iggers goes to the very brink of National Socialism. Of course the decisionism even of Heidegger is not *identical* with National Socialism, but it seems to me less important to stress that disjunction than to deny the connection between Humboldt and Ranke and these ills of Weimar. It is, however, this latter continuity that Iggers is concerned to establish (the "point of the book," as Iggers now reiterates, and which I did *not* miss) in a passage from which I quoted at length.

How many reviewers, to go on to other matters, in fact devote so much of their strictly rationed wordage to such generous quotation? Iggers' complaint of being quoted out of context seems ungracious, to say the least; that of having his arguments distorted I have refuted; both are the staple complaints of authors aggrieved by reviewers with rather less space at their disposal than themselves. The prejudices that I feared might be confirmed in readers of Iggers' book are not his and therefore not his responsibility, and so I do not see why he is so touchy about them; similarly, I did not question his scholarly honesty in drawing attention to his own earlier articles, but if the cap fits. . . .

These correspondences are unedifying for all concerned, above all for their readers, and I will conclude with two connected observations. Iggers implies that I did not give his book a "careful reading." I read every word, and much of it more than once. The more often I read some passages, the less I liked them. Nevertheless, far from being "highly subjective," my review represents a drastic revision of an earlier and much more damaging draft. In carrying out this revision I disciplined myself to go as far in toning down adverse criticism and finding words of praise as my conscience and the duties laid upon reviewers for this journal would allow.

University of Keele

W. M. SIMON

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I thought I had given plenty of concrete evidence of Gomes de Brito's deficiencies as an editor on pages 2-4, 16-19, 113 n., and 160-61 of the second volume of the *Tragic History of the Sea*, as well as in my previous works dealing with this matter, which are listed in the bibliography. However, since Mr. Bausum (unlike all the other experts in this field who have commented on my work) is not satisfied (*AHR*, LXXIV [Apr. 1969], 1484), I will try again. I maintain that an editor, even an eighteenth-century literary hack, should tell his readers which edition (or combination of editions) he has used for the text he is reprinting. He should explain, or at least note, that some passages in the original text are obscure or corrupt and state whether he has left them as they are or tried to correct them. He should also make some effort to read the proofs carefully. Gomes de Brito can be faulted on all these counts, as unprejudiced readers can see for themselves.

Contrary to what Mr. Bausum asserts, I do not on page 159 (or elsewhere) concede that "Gomes de Brito used an early edition of Dias . . . , an edition now lost to scholars." What I state on page 159 is that Gomes de Brito printed a greatly expanded version of the 1565 text which he (and not I) specifically ascribed to Henrique Dias. In discussing the authorship of the 1565 edition on page 7, I mention the possibility that Gomes de Brito might have used an unrecorded edition published after 1565, but I leave the question open, concluding: "On balance, I am inclined to believe that Gomes de Brito had access to the original manuscript or a copy of the same, which he printed in full, probably with some interpolations and additions of his own." In the case of the *Aguia* and *Garça* narrative, I have shown that Gomes de Brito took his version from Couto's *Decada VII* (1616), without the slightest acknowledgment and arbitrarily suppressing Couto's name. Perhaps Mr. Bausum considers that Gomes de Brito was using an unknown and unrecorded later edition that likewise omitted Couto's name. I regard this as exceedingly improbable, but granting for the sake of argument that such an edition might have existed, this does not absolve Gomes de Brito from his failure to have consulted the most obvious source for a published account of this shipwreck (Couto's *Decada VII*), which would have shown him the text was already in print by 1616. As I pointed out, moreover, Gomes de Brito gratuitously joined together the disparate narratives of Couto and Barradas, although they have nothing to do with each other. Not content with this, he alleged on the frontispiece of his 1735 version that Barradas' text was a "description of the City of Colombo," whereas it is, in fact, the account of a journey made to Ceylon, Coromandel, and Malabar in 1614, with only a few lines devoted to Colombo.

As regards the Albuquerque Coelho *Naufrágio*, I did not claim that Gomes de Brito used the hitherto unlocated edition of about 1580–1592, though for all I know he may have done so. But if he did, he should have checked the text with that of the 1601 edition (which is the one I assumed he did use), and not increased the confusion by erroneously ascribing the authorship of this narrative to Bento Teixeira. In conclusion, I may add that Gomes de Brito's contemporary (and only) biobibliographer, Barbosa Machado, states that his formal education left something to be desired ("não frequentou as escolas"). Admittedly, an education at a Portuguese university in the early eighteenth century was no great shakes, but this admission reinforces my conviction, derived from a careful reading and study of the *Historia trágico-marítima* over ten years, that Gomes de Brito was no better than a literary hack.

Yale University

C. R. BOXER

* * * * *Association Notes* * * * *

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

John J. Rumbarger has been appointed Assistant Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association and Director of the Service Center for Teachers of History. Rumbarger received his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania; his major field of interest is the social and political history of the United States from 1870 to 1920. Prior to his arrival at the Association, he taught at Rutgers University, Newark, from 1968 to 1969.

The Thirteenth International Congress of Historical Sciences will be held in Moscow, August 16-23, 1970. Additional information concerning the meeting can be obtained from the Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

RECENT DEATHS

Huntley Dupre of St. Paul, Minnesota, died September 8, 1968.

John A. Heine of Babylon, New York, died November 28.

William Frey Carson of Portsmouth, Virginia, died December 14.

John W. Long, Jr., of Denton, Texas, died February 20, 1969.

Irwin F. Thomle of Aberdeen, South Dakota, died March 18.

Konstantinas Avizonis of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, died April 20.

Marcel Frederic Jardin Brunow of Belfast, Maine, died April 25.

Colin Rhys Lovell, a professor at the University of Southern California for twenty-two years, died May 16, at the age of fifty-two. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin in 1947, and his publications include *Hertzog, the Seeker* and *English Constitutional and Legal History: A Survey*.

Raymond L. Welty of Pittsburg, Kansas, died May 23.

Hajo Holborn (May 18, 1902-June 20, 1969) was the complete historian, probably the last of his illustrious company that we shall ever see. He appropriated all the great cultural traditions of our past and joined them, without a seam showing, to the scientific and activist standards of our present. The classical languages, philology, theology, philosophy, literature, the musical and plastic arts, international relations, public administration, sociology—he had the run of all these departments of human endeavor, and they opened to him an unparalleled range of knowledge over the manifold facets of man's past. He cast his panoramic view of the species into the dimension of the past not simply from his profound commitment to the scholar's role in preserving the

heritage of civilized humanity but even more because he was in the truest sense of the term a scientist who found in the rigorous tests of the Rankean historical discipline the most appropriate way of converting information into truth. The truth of history was thus for him a vital force; it was the most effective means of mastering human nature and of guiding human action toward political and social reform. Hence he was heard and read not only by colleagues and students but by officials and publicists of two continents with an attention and a respect accorded to few in our profession. They revered him both as the custodian of their culture and as an oracle for their decisions.

But even these awesome qualities—the sheer mass, the fidelity, and the relevance of his knowledge—that made Hajo Holborn's presence so imposing only begin to explain his unique hold upon two generations of academic and public life. There were also—most pervasive in actuality but most elusive for definition—the principles that he stood for and that he taught. Since his was an integral character, he asserted them alike in his writing, in his teaching, and in his manliness. The principles were constant, but because he would teach them only as embodied in and tested by one or another kind of activity, they were visible in different lights according to his respective roles as writer, instructor, and person. They were diffracted in the first, implicit in the second, and lustrous in the third.

The most distinctive features of Hajo Holborn's written history stem precisely from his dedication of it to the provision of an intellectual support for his moral principles. The fine balance of factuality and interpretation, of respect for human variety and inquiry for human constancy, that informs all his historical writing was the scholarly representation of the ultimate harmony which he found between the free expression of individuality and the socializing drive toward universal community as equivalent principles of human nature. His own remarkable growth as a historian, consequently, developed the function of his historical equipoise from the open-minded juxtaposition of divergent realities to their generous synthesis. As a prodigy in the Germany of the 1920's he demonstrated his virtuosity by alternating easily between his model studies of Bismarckian diplomacy and the masterly analysis of Reformation culture that produced his classic portrait of Ulrich von Hutten. His creative response to the German and world crises of the 1930's spurred his subsequent growth along two axes that seemed externally incongruous and that yet proved wonderfully symmetrical in him: he became even more versatile as he added the social life of ordinary men to his professional panoply, and he became more integral as he perceived the single historical destiny toward which the most diverse activities of men inexorably converged. In a host of pioneering lectures and articles after his emigration in 1933 he extended his audience from Europe to the Western world—for, characteristically, he did not shift so much as enlarge his audience with his move to America—and plumbed both the philosophy of history and new combinations of social, political, and intellectual history for the concepts with which to organize and synthesize the greatly expanded historical manifold.

With the end of the Second World War he reached his scholarly maturity and, merging his traditional talents with his new insights, produced the succession of masterpieces, long and short, that have given inimitable historical individuals their definitive location in the broad stream of human history. Thus, in his *Political Collapse of Europe*, he defined the historical identity of that intricately articulated continental culture, immersing without dissolving it in the political, economic, and ideological context of a larger world. His *History of Modern Germany* was conceived and executed in an

ever grander style. In it he plotted the entire course of that pivotal nation's history, in its every dimension, since the decay of the medieval Empire, creating a vital collective being out of the changing relations among its internal economic, social, political, cultural, and religious parts and cradling it continuously in the European matrix whence it drew its life's blood.

And so, in Hajo Holborn's writing, every historical reality got its value from its spontaneity and its meaning from its role in a process more inclusive and closer to the unity of mankind than itself. Every historical fact became, for him, a window upon a larger vista, not so much because he always viewed the fact within the larger framework—this can be a mechanical enterprise—as because he looked for those actions that historical men themselves undertook in the light of the great world. Thus individuals in his history always came to include the general processes of their respective ages as integral parts of their own careers.

In his teaching, again, he represented contrary values in their categorical purity and somehow meshed them to produce the most improbably fruitful results. On the one hand, the independence of the student was an absolutely inviolable article of faith with him. In his eyes all students were equal, and all were precious, whatever their starting capacities. He never intruded; he never prescribed; he cherished and marveled at the autonomous development of each scholar, vagaries and all, as another worthy addition in the infinitely variegated society of truth seekers, in the manner of the classical idealism he loved so well. Even the rare occasions when he cast a critical judgment—and from him this meant the gentle murmur that "this will not do"—the verdict fell like a thunderclap upon the student because he knew that in the eyes of Professor Holborn he had committed the one mortal sin: he had defaulted from his own potentiality; he had violated the law of his own being.

And yet the Holborn stamp was indelible. Holborn Ph.D.'s populate the faculties of our colleges and universities in numbers astonishing for their provenance from a reservoir as deliberately small as Holborn's Yale graduate department, and they are joined by a legion of his younger colleagues who went informally to school with him. His students' specialties reflect the staggering range of the fields he taught: German history in all its periods; the diplomatic, intellectual, and general histories of Europe; historiography and the philosophy of history; and, intensively, the Ages of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the contemporary world. Yet, despite their dispersion and despite their differences of age and concentration, all bear the Holborn mark: they identify themselves as his students and are sensible of the special bond that links them. The mark comes not so much from what Hajo Holborn told them as from what Hajo Holborn showed them. For this was the way he taught them while he respected their independence, and never has this time-honored way of learning an art been more effective.

What it was, ultimately, that he taught in his writing and in his classes—what the substance of the primary principle was that meshed his unique historical individuals in ever-larger processes and that magnetized his sovereign students—was the profound truth that became incarnate in his own existence. During his final years the sunny serenity of the disposition that had seemed simply a personal bonus in so acute and decisive a scholar flamed into the pure courage that revealed to us once more the man who, virtually alone among the established figures of his vulnerable calling, had openly defended an expiring German democracy and opposed a rising tyranny. Now he faced infirmity and coped with it; he faced pain and soared above it; he faced death and fought daily with it—all to assert time and again the abiding power

of the human spirit. Now, at last, Hajo Holborn made explicit what he had by indirection tried to teach us all these years: the quest for knowledge is a moral act, and every individual, whether as historical actor or recorder, realizes his own moral integrity only by expanding his quest to the integral knowledge of all that it takes, and has taken, to be a man.

And so the life of Hajo Holborn has become the exegesis of his work.

Columbia University

LEONARD KRIEGER

Robert Verle Bogle of Oak Ridge, Tennessee, died June 22.

Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., professor and archivist at the University of Notre Dame, died July 7, at the age of sixty-five. He received his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1940; his publications include a biography of John Cardinal O'Hara and *The Great Crisis in American Catholic History, 1895-1900*. He also served as managing editor of the *Review of Politics*.

AHA members who have died recently include: Francis A. Foster of Vineyard Haven, Massachusetts (a fifty-year member); Dieter Hillerbrand of Louisiana State University; Gerhard Frederick Kramer of East Lansing, Michigan; Gerard E. Mayer of Clarks Summit, Pennsylvania.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Founded in 1884 Chartered by Congress in 1889
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MEMBERSHIP: Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. Present membership ca. 16,000. Members elect the officers by ballot.

MEETINGS: An annual meeting with a three-day program is held during the last days of each year. Many professional historical groups meet within or jointly with the Association at this time. The Pacific Coast Branch holds separate meetings on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICES: The official organ, the *American Historical Review*, is published five times a year and sent to all members. It is available by subscription to others. In addition, the Association publishes its *Annual Report*, a variety of pamphlets designed to aid teachers of history, bibliographical as well as other volumes, and a newsletter. To promote history and assist historians, the Association offers many other services. It also maintains close relations with international, specialized, state, and local historical societies through conferences and correspondence.

PRIZES: The *Herbert B. Adams Prize* of \$300 awarded in the even-numbered years for a work in the field of European history. The *George Louis Beer Prize* of \$300 awarded annually for a work on any phase of European international history since 1895. The *Albert J. Beveridge Award* of \$5,000 given annually for the best book on the history of the United States, Canada, or Latin America. The *Albert B. Corey Prize*, sponsored jointly by the AHA and the Canadian Historical Association, of \$1,000 awarded biennially for the best book on the history of Canadian-American relations or the history of both countries. The *John H. Dunning Prize* of \$300 awarded in the even-numbered years for a book on any subject relating to American history. The *John K. Fairbank Prize in East Asian History* of \$500 awarded in the odd-numbered years beginning in 1969. The *Clarence H. Haring Prize* of \$500 awarded every five years to that Latin American who has published the most outstanding book in Latin American history during the preceding five years (next award, 1971). The *Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize* of \$100 awarded every five years for the best work in modern British and Commonwealth history (next award, 1971). The *Watumull Prize* of \$500 awarded in the even-numbered years for a work on the history of India originally published in the United States.

DUES: There is no initiation fee. Annual regular dues are \$15.00, student \$7.50 (faculty signature required), and life \$300. All members receive the *American Historical Review*, the *AHA Newsletter*, and the program of the annual meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Secretary at 400 A Street, S. E., Washington, D. C. 20003.

CHICAGO

INDIA AND THE SOVIET UNION

The Nehru Era

Arthur Stein

Mr. Stein's study examines the interaction between India and the USSR primarily from the Indian vantage point, focusing on the factors which led to the development of close ties between two major countries with basically different sociopolitical systems. Stein considers what Prime Minister Nehru's policies attempted to achieve and examines to what extent Nehru's objectives were realized. He analyzes the areas of accord and disagreement, harmony and tension, in a relationship which evolved from Soviet hostility prior to 1953 to a mood which could be termed "cooperative coexistence."

1969 LC:73-91656 320 pages \$9.50

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Guy de Carmoy

Translated by Elaine P. Halperin

This work traces the background and development of the formulation of official policy from the time of recognition of the first post-World War II provisional government in France until the riots of May 1968. De Carmoy's analysis often takes the form of comparisons between policies of the Fourth Republic and those of de Gaulle's Fifth, and *The Foreign Policies of France* is the first work published in English to deal with both Republics in terms of a comprehensive historical analysis. De Carmoy has made a major contribution in tracing the thread of continuity in the stages of de Gaulle's foreign policy throughout his political career.

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Selected Papers

Edited and with an Introduction by

Robert Bierstedt

Florian Znaniecki, the distinguished Polish-American sociologist, insisted that all action is grounded in society and that it is thus inconsistent and unwarranted to limit inquiry to a particular social structure. Znaniecki never hesitated in his attacks upon the limitations of statistical methods, and never ceased in his insistence that only by the use of personal and even intimate sources such as diaries, letters, and autobiographies, could the sociologist make full utilization of "the humanistic coefficient;" and it is this, above all, which distinguishes the social from the physical sciences. *Heritage of Sociology* series, Morris Janowitz, general editor.

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and the

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Jim F. Heath

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CHICAGO

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Angelo Del Boca

Translated by P. D. Cummins

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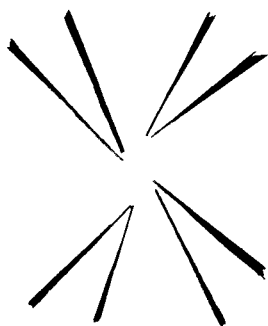
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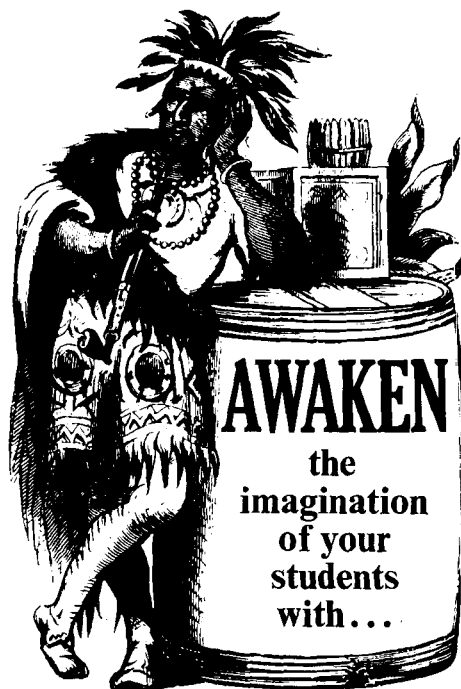
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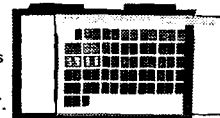
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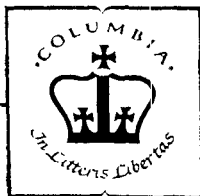
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